

John M. Goshko profiles the next U.N. chief, who faces the difficult task of reforming the organization

U.N. secretary general, has civil servant, shuttling around the world in sensitive but largely anony- large numbers of employees and mous tasks for the United Nations.

The U.S.-educated Annan, 58, is practices and activities. well-liked by colleagues with whom he has labored for three decades in the U.N. system in such littlenoticed areas as budget analysis style represents a big change from that of the current secretary general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, an i diplomat who could go months without talking to his key subordinates and who frequently treated the ambassadors of major powers condescendingly,

It is too early to tell how a longtime U.N. bureauerat like Annan will 1 meet the challenges of guiding the world body into the 21st century.

forms.

record of success in diplomacy or | Boutros-Ghali's re-election. politics. Now, given Annan's relative Nevertheless, by early this year, what the Muslims regarded as fair- have been Soviet imprisonment ar

TOFI ANNAN of Ghana, cho- about whether, as a creature of the sen last week to be the next | system, he will have the boldness and imagination to lead a restructurspent his adult life as an international ing that the United States and its supporters hope will involve cutting eliminating many traditional U.N.

Yet, while even many experts in international affairs would have trouble recognizing his name, the soft-spoken Annan commands conand personnel management. His | siderable respect among those who who have seen him in action.

That has been especially true dur- | have been the kiss of death for anying the last three years when Annan perious, high-profile Egyptian held what has been at once the most vital and controversial job within the United Nations - head of peacekeeping activities in such trouble spots as Somalia and Bosnia.

Annan became undersecretary general for peacekeeping in 1993 at a time when the Bosnia operations had caused many conservative Re- who declined to be identified, in publicans in Congress to become He must help to map the priori- bitterly critical of Boutros-Ghali and ties that the United Nations will fol- | his representative in Bosnia, Asushi low in the post-Cold War period, Akashi, for their alleged appease- Third World radicals. "He is re- either in New York or in its outposts find ways of getting the organiza- ment of Serb aggression against the spectful, he listens carefully, he is in Addis Ababa, Cairo and Geneva. tion through the worst financial cri- Bosnian Muslims. So intense was collegial, and he never loses sight of sis in its 51-year history and satisfy their anger that it led the Clinton U.S. demands for far-reaching re- administration to conclude that relations between Congress and the bassador to the United Nations and Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat It would be a tall order for some- United Nations could be repaired one with a far more distinctive only if the United States vetoed

anonymity, there are questions several Republican foreign policy ness to U.N. operations there. Sacir- death at the end of World War II.

Mandela Broadens Amnesty **Offer for Political Crimes**

Lynne Duke in Johannesburg

arm last week when Presidem Nel-1 tive role that Viljoen had played. son Mandela broadened his governan apartheid-era army chief's an- deadlines. nonncement that he would seek annesty and tell all to the nation's truth commission.

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43

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sion for annesty in return for a full | leal spectrum. confession of their deeds; they will now have until March 10, rather than until December 14. He also called for extending the eligibility period for crimes to qualify for cember 1993 cutoff to May 10, 1994, the day Mandela was sworn in as

that he now will seek annesty. He | minority rule. was one of the leaders of a white helped Mandela negotiate an end to | Minister Joe Modise, who was chief the so-called "Battle of Bop."

Front party, has emerged as one of Mufamadi; and Posts and Telecomthe white political leaders who has I munications Minister Jay Naidoo.

Mandela's car. Mandela said that he extended the application deadline COUTH AFRICA'S truth-telling and, prospectively, the period cov-D process received a shot in the cred, in recognition of the construc-

Mandela was also under pressure ment's offers of annesty to those | from the truth commission's leader who confess to political crimes. The retired Anglican archbishop Desmuch sought move was followed by | mond Tutu, to extend the amnesty

Others involved in right-wing attacks, including the 1994 bombing campaign, are likely to also seek Mandela extended the deadline annesty in what truth commission by which people can apply to the | members expect to be a surge of Truth and Reconciliation Commis- amnesty pleas from across the polit-

Parliament must amend legislation governing the truth commission's operations to extend the amnesty-qualifying period.

The commission was established amnesty - from the current De- after the 1994 election to offer reparations to victims of apartheid-era human rights violations as well as South Africa's first black president. | annesty to perpetrators who con-Retired Gen. Constand Viljoen, J tess. The process is aimed at helpbead of the South African Defense | ing South Africa come to grips with Force from 1980 to 1985, announced its racist and violent past of white-

Even before the application right-wing uprising in the spring of deadline had been extended, an 1991 that began with a deadly avalanche of annesty requests had bombing campaign and ended in a flooded into truth commission failed attempt to take over the black | offices. And last week about 60 ap-"homeland" of Boohuthatswana and objections for annesty were sent to derail the nation's first all-races elec- | the truth commission from the rultion. After some of Viljoen's men ing African National Congress. were summarily executed before in- Among the applicants were three ternational television cameras, he sitting cabinet ministers: Defense of the ANC's military wing; safety Viljoen, leader of the Freedom and Security Minister Sydney



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didate Robert J. Dole - were enthusiastically saying that Annan, who personally went to Bosnia to take over from Akashi, would make a superb secretary general, Prompting their admiration was what they regarded as his even-handedness and skillful performance in guiding U.N. peacekeeping forces through the handoff last year to a NATO-led

At the United Nations, where the U.S. veto of Boutros-Ghali caused great resentment among the other members, the endorsement of American conservatives should one aspiring to the secretary general's office. But, when Annan was among four Africans who declared their candidacy last week, the universal perception of him as the "American candidate" did not stor him from sprinting into a lead.

"He brings a certain style to | things," said a senior U.S. diplomat, discussing why Annan is able to apto American conservatives and what is practical."

Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnia's am-

strategists on Capitol Hill — among bey said: "People trust him because them aides to GOP presidential can- he is honest."

Others cite Annan's sense of humor. During the maneuvering that preceded his election, France raised questions about whether he speaks French. Annan's colleagues say that when asked him about it. Annan replied in lilting West African tones, "I now speak English with a French accent."

Born into a family of traditional tribal chiefs, he began his education in Ghana and, with the aid of a Ford | lars. Foundation grant, left home in 1959 to study at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he earned a bachelor's degree in economics. He later studied at the Institut Universitaire de Haute Etudes Internationales in Geneva and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which awarded him a master's degree in management.

Annan entered the U.N. system in 1959 by joining the World Health Organization. In the 1970s, he returned home for two years to head Ghana's tourism development board. But the rest of his adult life peal with such ease and popularity has been spent with the United Na- charges in a case that prompte tions and its affiliated agencies, half-naked protests throughout

Annan's wife, Nane Lagergren, is the daughter of a noted international jurist and the niece of Raoul a frequent harsh critic of U.N. who rescued thousands of Hungarpeacekeepers in his country, point- ian Jews from the Nazis before disedly singles out Annan for restoring appearing into what is believed t

Sharpeville last weck watched by Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman of the that is precisely the point she constitutional assembly PHOTOGRAPH: ADIL BRADLOW | hoped to make.

Court Rules Bare Breasts Are Legal

Howard Schneider in Toronto

A S SHE strolled bare-breaster A down the streets of Guehh one day in 1991, Gwen Jacobs slowed traffic, caused mothers to snatch away their children and prompted at least one grow of men to reach for their binor.

But she didn't, Ontario's highest court has decided, do anything obscene, indecent or otherwise prosecutable.

A three-judge panel of the **Ontario Court of Appeals ruled** last week that the female chest publicly displayed, is no more offensive to community standards of decency than a barcchested man at the bench or a construction worker cooling of without his shirt.

In so concluding, they over turned Jacobs's conviction of three years ago on indecency Canada on her behalf.

She had been fined \$75 after deciding, on a humid summer day in 1991, to doff her shirt and stroll through Guelph, a rural town 50 miles southwest Toronto. Along the way, she refused requests by police and neighbors that she cover up. Sh said she was only doing what men did, and didn't like being treated differently because of society's narrowly sexual interpretation of her breasts.

The appellate court agreed, in a ruling that opens the way for women to forgo upper-hodwest throughout Canada's largest province. A similar ruling in the New York courts four years ago. stemming from a "Top-bree Picnic" in Rochester, has allowed women the right to go topless in that state, but there apparently has been no rush to exercise it.

The Ontario decision can be appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada within 60 days, hu Jacobs's lawyer said she would expect the same outcome there-The Ontario judges had no qualm with existing laws or definitions of decency established in prior cases, she said, but believe that women's breasts "in and of themselves" don't offend local standards.

The lawyer, Margaret Buist, said the case hinged on the distinction between "walking along the street swinging your breasts. saying come and get it ... and doing exactly the same as a man would do on a hot summer day Blatantly sexual exposure, or the commercial use of bare-breaster bodies for advertising, for example, would still be against the law, she said.

The judges "looked at the evidence, looked at the fact that traffic slowed down, children were taken away by their mothers," Buist said. "There is no real harm here to the public ... The whole issue is the context. We argued that a woman's breasts are not inherently sexual, in and of themselves.

In a statement released

Vol 155, No 26 Week ending December 29, 1996



Martin Walker

IE YEAR was dominated by the presidential election campaign, and Bill Clinton's asnon This looks to have been larsare certain in retrospect that it apmared as the year began, or even as fac as August, when the veteran Republican Senate leader Robert Dole I sention in San Diego to be mounting a strong challenge.

I going to be dominated by four main | paigning as a "New Democrat" who

countries. Republicans to capitalise on their entrepreneurial federal government sunning success in the 1994 midelected, but also on his ability to to eight years in office and senators erra was economic growth and tax

The third theme of importance was the fate of the third party in American politics: whether the when he declared, "The era of Big Government is over". Texan billionaire Ross Perot would run again; and how far he could repeat the success of his 1992 perfor- had sustained US diplomacy around the leadership of mance, when he Non more than The striking feature 19 million votes. port of one voter of the 1996 election disrepair in five. In the was how little event, he won sufficient to deny argument emerged Clinton the man-date has between the parties ations date he craved and to allow his voted against him than for his re- a replacement. election.

day, and the degree to which a tion to pass the North American ning to emerge.

President Rooscvelt was the last leader to confront a collapse of the

It's still the economy, stupid

pression, in far more critical and perilous circumstances. Roosevelt's New Deal, later buttressed by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, was to establish what became the political economy of modern fimes; mixed oublic and private enterprise, in which the preseminent federal government laxed around 20 per cent of gross domestic product to provide social security and welfare and concrous public investment in outration and the national infrastruc-

Under direat throughout the Reagan years, but sustained by the Democratic majorities in Congress this New Deal system was fatally undermined by the manifesto of the The elections of 1996 were always Clinton campaign in 1992. Cam- themes, The first was the degree to | was determined to break out of the which the incumbent Bill Clinton | party's shrinking electoral base in could shake off the magging scan- the cities and make the Democrats dals that mushroomed from the electable in the middle-class suboriginal Whitewater investment in Jurbs, Clinton foreshadowed a depar-Arkansas, and claim his reward for three from this Roosevelt-Johnson the best economic performance of tradition. He promised "an end to may of the advanced industrial welfare as we know it", a middleclass tax cut, 100,000 extra police on The second was the ability of the the streets and a shrunken and more

The Republican Congress elected term elections, when they recap- in 1994 sought to take this much bird both Houses of Congress for | further. They promised a constituthe first time in 40 years. This was | tional amendment to require that in hinge not only on the quality of the federal budget be balanced, the presidential candidate that they | term limits to restrict congressmen bridge the disturbing gap between 1 to 12, and prepared to control the the religious right, the party's fast-rising costs of the health subsimoralistic wing, and its more dies for the elderly (Medicare) and materialist wing, whose main con- the poor (Medicaid). Clinton managed to slow and finally to block the Republican charge, but in his 1996 State of the Union address conceded the essential principle

The foreign policy consensus that

military 1941 was also in the end of the cold war. Clinton, building on the free trade negoti-Canada and Mexico negotiated in

replacement consensus was begin- Free Trade Agreement and the Gatt



2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Race that's littered with obstacles

Brown (Black looks and white lies. December 22) was not entirely right. The people of California did quotas in government posts" --- nor could they have done so as there | ball fans on the terraces of Europe. have never been any. The far right doesn't mean it is true.

Quotas do exist in the US but | tins of shortbread for tourists. their use is very limited. None the trated at the fringes.

racist, sexist or simply patronising with any legitimacy whatsoever. ideas did not exist. However, you cannot tell all non-Wasps that they | London have to wait until this larger issue has been resolved. John Carr,

London

VASMIN Alibhai-Brown throws piece by arguing that anxieties jobs. I remember in 1966 when [WR Jackson, about the corrosion of a British | was seeking a job as a print worker | Mansfield, Nottinghamshire cultural identity need to be taken | in Fleet Street. Their practices, then seriously.

cousins. The one cannot be attacked | about its survival is a good sign. by making concessions to the other. Amin Mawani, Britishness is the name of state | London

HE essay by Yasmin Alibhai- power. It had its last and most comprehensively unattractive outing when Mrs Thatcher used it to take on a tottering military dictatorship putting her son through a fee-pay- feckless and casual way with foreign were far too positive as to when not "[vote] to ban gender and race in the South Atlantic. Her example ing school and at least trying to get policy. was soon followed by English foot- him into Oxford. I wonder how this

in the United States would have you decay. It is a misreading to see the believe that virtually every black shrillness of the Tory Europhobes of "race relations" research in Britain a more congenial and less divisive very confident that if military comman or woman in employment owes as anything other than the begin- is that all that this will do is allow a set of traditional values. Few argued manders report that the risk to their their place to a quota, but that ning of nationalism's end-game. Its few middle-class blacks to disassoci- with Clinton's suggestion of school troops is such that more soldiers future is Trooping the Colour on ate themselves from their fellows.

less, the fact of their existence has ment in the war against racism in they should suffer discrimination at be "mended, not ended" to preserve done great PR damage to the cause the stand of the Transport and Gen- the higher levels and that they the concept of fairness to the less now increasingly ready to intervene of equal opportunities, helped along eral Workers Union against the should be personally hurt. Frankly, privileged chimed with the essential in overseas crises when US national by some of the excesses perpe- employment practices of Ford however, this bears no comparison generosity of most Americans, who interests are only marginally con-Truckfleet. An official of the rival with the situation of those denied are on the whole neither a mean- cerned, in a world where the Nato Quotas have no place in thinking union claims that the extreme rarity jobs altogether. I cannot see how spirited nor a racist people. about equality in the UK but the of black lorry drivers "may simply making acceptance easier for Clinton's victory in the presiden- for military action in the Middle choice is not between quotas or be because their superior intelli- monied blacks and Asians in profes- tial election was matched by the Re- East and Africa, Gen Shalikashvili nothing. Yasmin Alibhai-Brown got gence says don't work in a shitty job sional jobs and the fee-paying edu- publican success in strengthening added. perilously close to suggesting that for low pay" (TUC to rule on Ford | cational sector will help. little can be achieved until white | race row, December 15). To dispose | (Prof) John Rex, men have adjusted their heads. This | of such cynical white-coltar racism is a possimistic and impractical pre- requires precisely that we do not scription. Of course we all wish that grace its indelible national identity Tom Snow.

> THE article by Yasmin Alibhaj-I Brown highlights claudestine racism within employment practices and individuals' attitudes.

Racial discrimination has been away much of the force of her | historically rampant in highly paid supported by the trade unions, were Racism and nationalism are first similar to those at Ford. Anxiety

enough low-grade jobs to go round and blacks are being kept out of those that there are by white comand money should try to join the Clinton, a sly dig at the Whitewater that the firm, one-year time limit for middle classes.

will go down with car workers suf- paign themes in the face of Clinton's changes, we can quickly bring But Britishness is now in rapid fering discrimination in Dagenham? economic record and his skill at per- additional troops back to Bosnia.

We are witnessing an epic mo- black and Asian middle classes that tence that affirmative action could agree."

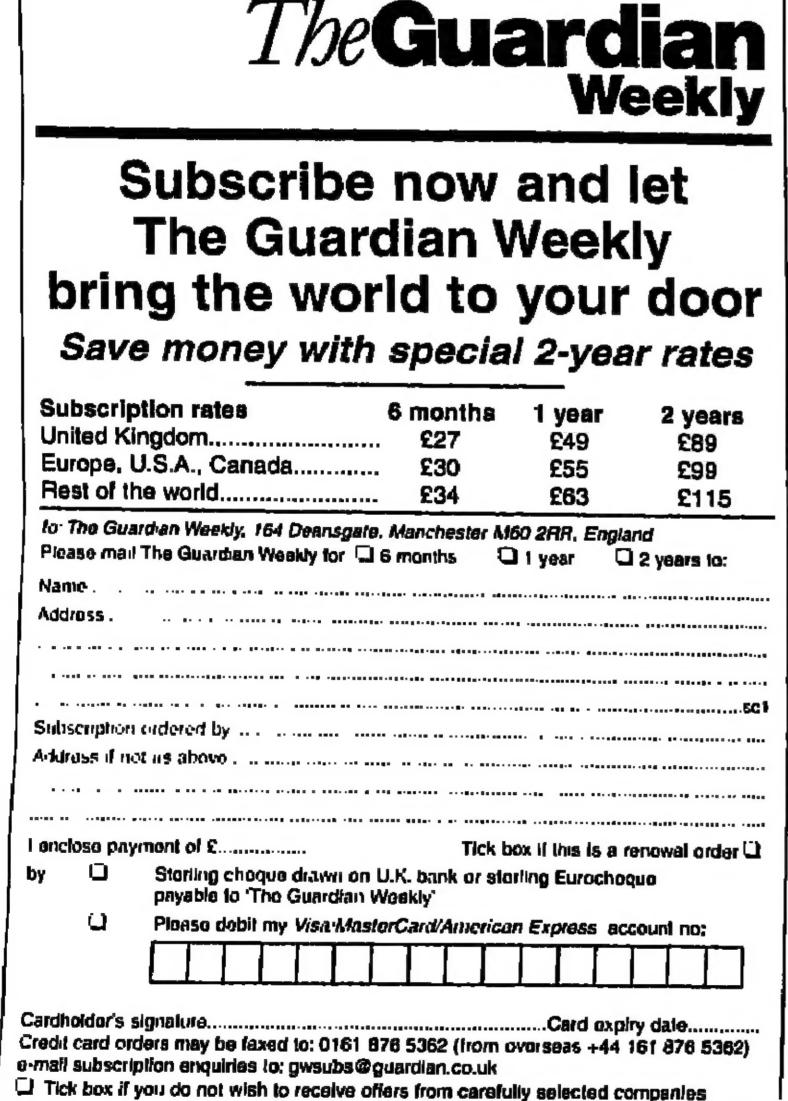
A /HILE Yasmin Alibhai-Brown's safer with divided government in world. It was the clearest statement VV strictures on racist attitudes Washington. The six years when yet delivered of the new and comwill ring true among those who one party controlled both White plex strategic vision of the Clinton share her concerns about the dele- House and Congress were the unla- administration. In a broad survey of terious effect of such prejudices, the mented four years of the Carter the US global role, which included: story of a Muslim woman facing presidency, and the unhappy first sharp warning over Chinese arms hostility from her work colleagues | two years of President Clinton. over the wearing of a headscarf (Appeal against 'hijab' racism, December 15) does not augur well for positive change.

IS THERE nowhere that British | nerabilities of the White House to | threatened so they don't grow," he arms cannot contribute towards scandal, to harassment by congres- said. "When I was Supreme Comdeath? The Middle East, South America, now Rwanda? Just how do legal probes of the independent thought the day would come when Weekly those responsible live with their consciences and that includes members of governments who sit idly by? (Dr) David Blest, University of Tasmania. Launceston, Australia

> FIT is so shocking to sell arms to Rwanda that we should declare it illegal, why is it acceptable to sell arms to Nigeria, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia, to name only three repressive regimes? On December 8, you reported that a £200 million British overseas aid programme to Indonesia had been linked directly to multi-million-pound sales of arms | There were the rumblings of | Pentagon, and even the US econand military aircraft, Why does no one in Parliament

Rac Street.

THE arms dealers who supplied Chinese bullying. And there was the Rwandan regime before and during the 1994 genocide look like maintained only by the deployment escaping their just deserts, thanks of US-led Nato forces. to registering on Mickey Mouse islands and the rumblings of freemarket politicians suddenly con- But for a year, people have not been cerned about the loss of jobs, Such | killed. This is a tremendous credit | difficulties could be surmounted by to Nato and I don't think any other indicting them at the International military organisation could have Court of Justice as accessories to genocide. But I doubt very much that this will happen. Colin Gill, London





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University of Warwick, Coventry

Selling death around the world

speak out? Surely it could not be to protect the interests of UK firms?

Littleborough, Lancashire

Y be saying that now there are not | It's still the economy, stupid

petitors, black people with ability was the character weaknesses of reviews every six months. He noted embarrassments, and also at what | the length of the I-for mission had She has done this herself by the Republicans claimed was his been a mistake - "the statements

These proved inadequate as cam- "If the situation on the ground My own conclusion after 35 years suading the voters that he stood for Gen Shalikashvili went on. "I am uniforms, or his cautious approval have to be brought in. I have no I am, of course, sad for these for teenage curfews. And his insis- doubt that my government would

their grip on the Senate, and maintaining it — with a thin majority — you only limit yourself to vital interin the House of Representatives. As ests," the Pentagon's top officer told for all but six of the past 28 years. a group of international corresponthe voters judged they would be dents in a year-end survey of the

All this helps to explain why there was so much talk in the weeks after the election of "the vital centre". This rested on the assumption this with the United Nations see-(rather, the pious hope) that Clinton | tary-general this summer. and the chastened Republican leaders could govern well together, making common cause against the publicans' religious right wing.

were it not for the dog that did not using American military forces in bark during the campaign: the vul- | situations when lesser interests are sional inquiry, and to the unfinished mander of Allied Forces in Europe. counsel, Kenneth Starr. The tempta- | the Nato horizon would stretch betion to make use of these obvious youd Europe. I can envisage the day weapons was very hard to resist for when the member nations see it a Republican party whose internal useful to deal with humanitarian and divisions were best eased by their other operations in Africa or the joint animosity to Mr and Mrs | Middle East, utilising Nato com-Clinton.

The potential of these scandals | A world view of this scope sug for damage was one clue to the gests that we are close to the high fragilities of Clinton's second term. | water mark of American power and There were others, such as the way ambition. A similar crest may loom the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan | ing in the stock markets, and possi-Greenspan, sent the world's stock | bly in the political fortunes of the markets tumbling with his warning Clinton presidency. This may all be of "irrational exuberance", a clear | too gloomy in such a triumphant resuggestion that the Wall Street election year, but there is an uncomboom could not be long sustained. fortable sense that Clinton, the Kremlin instability, and there was omy, may have nowhere to go but China, whose tumultuous economic down. But his legacy, as the freegrowth presaged a difficult geo- trade president and the man who appolitical period. Clinton was driven pears to be crafting the new in the spring to draw a line in the consensus on foreign and domestic waters of the Taiwan Strait, dis- policies for a generation to come, is patching two aircraft carrier task already in place. forces as a precaution against Bosnia, where a kind of peace was

"You can argue whether we have had peace or just an absence of war. done it," the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, General John Shalikashvili, said earlier this month. He envisaged the new S-for (Stabili- Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985); sation Force) of some 30,000 US e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

continued from page 1 if born on American soil. The third Bosnia for another 18 months, with we'd get out".

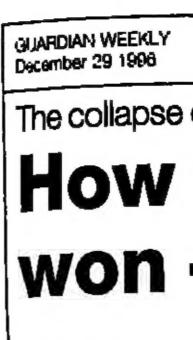
Washington's armed forces are alliance becomes the tool of choice

"This is no longer a world where sales to Iran, the General revealed for the first time that he had prommended considering the use of Nato forces in Rwanda, and had discussed

47 ODAY, we protect our interests when they are threatprotectionist Democrats and the Re- ened, in order to shape the environment to ensure that what de-This would be more convincing velops is in accord with our goals. mand and control."



December 29, 1998 Vol 155 No 26 Copyright © 1996 by Guardian Publications Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London, United Kingdom, All rights reserved. Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe Inc. Ere, USA and Canada; £63 Rest of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly. 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HO.



LYING east to arrive in the | won fairly both times. Who else was the last days of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. The Red Flag still flew over the Kremlin - but it only needed the merest of political ence on internal Russian politics. It events, a secret meeting between the presidents of Russia, Ukraine | hole in it. Over the past five years, and Belarus, for the symbol of the Russia has opened the door on the slithering down.

Sensing the moment, the planeend of the runway was "theirs". ders of Lenin or the Red Banner of | and declare him fighting fit. Labour from cash-starved war veterans; and beside him was a man who called himself "a missionary from the Lord".

They were missionaries for no histrionic but fundamentally dangerous medieval fending. Western embassies in Moscow.

susceptible to the claim that things have not turned out under Boris feltsin quite the way they had inleaded, have erected a temporary acoden palisade around their rather exposed positions. It consists of ber One: After 75 years of commu- when Benidorm was a fishing nism in which Russia was practically a militarised state, it would be folly 10 expect the transition period to go smoothly or quickly. It took 300 years to create the English lawn.

There's no arguing with that.

Defence Number Two: Right or wrong, democrat or not, there was stupid your Queen was, and how himself twice to popular vote and | times. Self-abasement, rejection of | paternalistic one.

Vote on Crimean port splits neighbours

James Meek in Moscow

increased sharply this month when | return Sevastopol. the upper house of the Russian parliament accused Ukraine of illegally occupying Russian territory.

In an unexpected move, senators in the normally docile Federation Council voted overwhelmingly in cent months the focus of dispute Support of two motions effectively has shifted to the status of the city Yeltsin's old foe Alexander Rutskoi, demanding that Kiev recognises Sevastopol, on the Crimean peninsula, as a Russian city.

Both Russia and the international community have recognised Sevastopol as being part of Ukraine since the state became independent five years ago. "Unilateral actions by the Ukrainian side, aimed at seiz- sleepy club of Yeltsin yes-men that campaign to repatriate the Crimean ing from Russia part of its territory, are not only illegal from the point of view of international law, but directly damage the security of Russia," said the council.

The collapse of communism was supposed to bring wonderful capitalism. But it never happened, writes David Hearst in Moscow

How the East was won — and lost

habitual gloom of a landing at there? Grigori Yavlinski, the young Moscow's Sheremetyevo's and pepular liberal economist, but Airport, the British Airways flight | as yet nowhere near power. Governfrom London was packed with wary ments have to deal with heads of travellers. It was December 1991, states. Bad Boris was the "least worst" choice.

Plea-bargain Number Three: Let us not overestimate the West's influis here that the fence has a gaping great empire's authority to come | West almost painfully wide. The Western governments had an unexpectedly large amount of day-to-day had of Westerners was full of ner- influence on the governance of Rusyous anticipation. My neighbour sia. They decided when to turn on was a Belgian businessman who the financial taps to prop up the boasted to his colleague that the state budget, when to keep quiet hangar that lounted large as the (the CIA is very well informed plane thumped its way towards the about the murky events around the storming of the Moscow White they had bought the whole thing. House, the seat of a parliamentary or so they thought. Beside him was rebellion in 1993) and when to turn a German who was buying up Or- up in person at Yeltsin's sick bed

In late 1991 and early 1992, the enthusiasm of the planeload of freemarket missionaries was matched only by the idealism and naivety their Russian hosts. Their belief in one but themselves. The democratic | what the buture held in store, how values they thought they were inter wealth would instantly and painporting to Russia have been blown | lessly flow into Russia on a great away, and the result is the sort of tide of Western investment, was painful to witness.

I remember an old man staggering drunk up to the klosk where I stopped to buy beer in a village outside Moscow. The sight of foreigners travelling freely outside Moscow was still new. Even the word "foreigner" in Russian ponderous resonance that it had in three arguments. Argument Num- Britain 40 years ago in the days lage and "wogs" were still deemed to start in Calais.

The man was drunk, and the sight of a battered Volvo produced an exaggerated effect on him: "Marvellous, these English cars. You know we were told for so long how clever our Central Committee was.



Consigned to history . . . Lenin out, McDonald's in. But for the Russian economy, where's the beef? PHOTOMANA MULA AUS NO BE

Russia's past, even its cyrillic script in favour of English-language advertisements. It is here that nationalism was born as a creed that would take over from communism.

This was a revolution, not a reform, and revolutionaries are sensitive to symbols. Moscow was littered with the icons of the new free-market messiah, Giant Coca-Cola cans were placed along Gorky Street, Moscow's main thoroughfare. names of the streets were changed, and for a time no one could tell where they were on the Metro.

the belief that the West would help security chief, Alexander Lebed, describes himself as "half a demo-

This confersion is as much a reaction to Western policy as it is to coutinued industrial decline. It was the West which argued in the worst moments of the Yeltsin years that the ends justified the means, and it has been argued consistently.

Yes, the way Yeltsin dealt with a parliamentary revolt in October 1993 was clumsy and bloody, but it had to be done, for the greater good of keeping the assorted communists which was renamed Tverskaya. All and fascists holed up in the building out of power. Yes, it is politically harmful virtually to exclude the middle ground of opinion from state The free market has arrived, but | television, in an effort to persuade the people that it's a choice between Russia has gone. With it has also the Whites and the Reds, but everydied any faith that democratic thing is excused in the aim of keepridden Russia today. The former | broad alliance of communists and nationalists, out of power.

Yes, more people died in the The West protests about the tactics | lose it ?

guage, a second motion accused isolated in their efforts to reach a OSTILITY between the two Ukraine of creating tension in the compromise with Ukraine, a deal with Kiev recognising Ukraine's

The city is the main base for the former Soviet Black Sea flect, which Moscow and Kiev have been trying to share out since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. But in re- series of gubernatorial elections. itself.

parliament, the Duma, has often show the electorate that they are made declarations on the Russian | more than just the Kremlin's votestatus of Sevastopol, which Presi- gatherers and subsidy-farmers. dent Boris Yeltsin has promptly vetoed. But this is the first time that prompted by the ambitious mayor the upper house - previously a of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov, whose could be relied upon not to rock the city is seen as part of his strategy to boat - has donned such aggres- become president in 2000," sively patriotic colours.

veto the council. But it makes both | from Russia to Ukraine - both then

In a more sinister use of lan- | him and the foreign ministry more liament is becoming increasingly less willing to make.

heads of Russia's 89 regions, has | weapons. been energised in past months by a New governors, such as Mr are keen to flex their muscles, while The lower house of the Russian old governors are desperate to

The Sevastopol vote was

Mr Luzhkov argues that Nikita President Yeltsin can and will Khrushchev's 1954 "gift" of Crimea

part of the Soviet Union - did not include Sevastopol, which was administered separately by Moscow. But the Russian Federation has

since signed separate agreements



FOCUS ON RUSSIA 3

. . . .

used, but not too loudly. Yes, the collapse of the state and the loss of law and order is harmful, but it's just a stage that many early capitalist states go through. That argument was made by an American ambassador in Moscow. In the light of the efforts that the FBI has made to highlight the dangers of Russian international crime, it is an ironic one.

Political pluralism, the rule of law, the distribution of power, fair elections, an independent media or free access to nationwide television in an election period - all of these principles have been quietly forgotten in the cause of the Greater Good.

The prism through which Russians see the West and interpret its intentions has turned. It takes no great depth of imagination to see how the patriotically minded might interpret the expansion of Nato eastwards as a threat. During perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev sold nuclear-arms reduction at home as an element of the "new political thinking" that was overtaking the old cold war partners.

Where is the "new political thinking" in Nato's expansion? Nato itself continues to be a military-led and US-dominated alliance, All Russian attempts to form a new Europeanbased security structure have so far come to nothing, h is simply a nonstarter, Russia is told.

The military tables have turned. It was once the West whose reliance on the nuclear shield was justified by the overwhelming number of Soviet tanks facing them. The same argument is now being used by Russia in reverse.

The missionaries have long since flown home. The quick bucks have been made, and what Russian indus try needs is investors, not asset strippers. It is clear that whoever becomes the next president of Rus sia, the basis for a non-democratic. authoritarian regime has already been faid.

The jury is out about how the next president of Russia will behave internationally. It was clearly not the West's intention to create an unstavalues are the right ones for crisis- ing Gennady Zyuganov, leader of a ble Russia, playing the role in Europe of the dirty neighbour at the bottom of the garden who never cuts his grass. This is, after all, the crat", and it can only be an outside | Chechen conflict than at any time | post-Chernobyl age. But the queschance that the strong hand that since the war in Afghanistan, but tion remains of the past five years of ing Boris Yeltsin, who, whatever | But you know we were the fools all | Russia's battered working classes | Russia is still allowed to become a | intense Western effort: did the West the has done, has submitted along." That was the mood of the are crying out for will be a fair and member of the Council of Europe. win the East or are we just about to

> Talks on a friendship treaty between the two governments have foundered because of the city. which is seen as the key to control of Crimea.

Had Ukraine not inherited the Hargest states in eastern Europe former Soviet Union by refusing to which the indignant Ukrainian par- new borders. Kiev insists that Russ- overwhelmingly Russian-speaking ian recognition of a Ukrainian Sev- city it would scarcely have occurred astopol was one of the conditions | to Kiev to ask for it. But now that it The council, made up of the under which it gave up its nuclear has it, the government feels it would be too humiliating to give it back.

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Andrew Higgins in Hong | Kong profiles the man Beijing has put in charge of the former British colony

OON after arriving in Hong Kong in 1983, the man ap-O pointed by Deng Xiaoping as China's plenipotentiary in the colony made a less than dazzling discovery. "I began to realise that the political inclinations of businessmen are usually linked to their business. They lean towards whoever supports them in trade or finance," recalls Xu Jlatun, China's senior official here until 1990. "I suggested Tung: bailed out by Beijing that we use our resources to foster a group of pro-China capitalists."

The theory was quickly put into practice. In 1985, China stepped in Grace of Monaco than the cadres of Football Club. the Chinese Communist Party.

chief executive of Hong Kong.



Tung Chee-hwa, or C H as he is often called, is aged 59, a fan of Confucius who sends his children to with \$120 million to help bail out the university in America, a Chinese shipping empire of a Hong Kong fam- patriot who left China, a man whose ily previously far more partial, at least given name means "build China" in public, to Taiwan and Princess | but who used to cheer on Liverpool

"He owes China a big favour, but This month, 11 years after Beijing so do many businessmen," said helped set up the world's third David Chu, a property millionaire see a classic conservative, a view biggest corporate bail-out (after who met Mr Tung when they Mr Tung has encouraged by paying tious. He is very careful about politi- lend so much money to the Tung Chryster and Lockheed), the busi- worked together at a General Elec- homage to Confucius at a Hong cal correctness," said Tsang family?" asked Ms Lau, "What is ? nessman saved from bankruptcy tric plant near Boston in 1968. He Kong temple and praising tradi- Yok-sing, leader of the Beijing- between them. I don't think we will has been named as Chris Patten's sees Mr Tung's intimate connection tional values in an 18-page "elec- backed Democratic Alliance for the ever know. But that is a clear sign! successor, the first post-colonial with China as an asset not a handi- tion" manifesto. An official who Betterment of Hong Kong. cap. "He knows how to communi- knows him suggests that he wants l

In the weeks preceeding his confirmation by a carefully screened 400-member selection committee, Mr Tung has apoken Beijing's lan-guage. He emerged from relative obscurity to toe China's line with a consistency and vigour that has alarmed critics and surprised even some veteran pro-China politicians.

He told the democrats that they must change, warned Tibet support groups to pack their bags, echoed Chinese conspiracy theories about "hostile foreign forces", and declined to join those demanding leniency for the Hong Kong journalist Xi Yang, who was jailed for 12 years

in China for an interest-rate scoop. "He is going to do what he is told. He is going to be very tough and he will obey orders," said Emily Lau, a democrat member of the legislative council. "The things he has been saying in the past few weeks show us that he is through and through a Communist cadre.

Most of Hong Kong prefers to

Anthony Hubbard in Wellington on the parties that have joined forces to govern New Zealand

Old political foes make strange bedfellows

EW ZEALAND has a new elec- | cries of treachery from Mr Peters's tive prime minister, Jim Bolger, to of the vote. team up with his old enemy, the arch-populist Winston Peters.

nance portfolio created especially | Zealand first." for him. This completes an electoral cial upheaval.

tion under the new mixed member | won 10 per cent of the vote. A New proportional (MMP) system left both Zealand-First Labour coalition the incumbent National and opposi- would have needed support from tion Labour parties well short of a the Alliance to get its legislation parliamentary majority. Neither side | through - and Mr Peters has alcould form a government without the | ways believed that the Alliance was support of the 17 MPs of New not a reliable partner. Zealand First, the odd electoral force Mr Peters's job as treasurer puts agreement, New Zealand First also critics accuse him of pandering to rience for New Zealand, former

Helen Clark, were both forced to close friend of Mr Bolger. Mr Peters woo Mr Peters — a courtship that | will now be in charge of the budget. was long and extraordinarily con- But while he is in the engine room, plex. Finally, after eight weeks of se- the machinery remains largely the liamentary term. A substantial in- hated superannuation surcharge, a system, however, none of the putricke cret talks, the kingmaker opted for | same and the free-market direction National, a party whose rightwing unchanged. The Reserve Bank Act, help to retrieve some of his popular- National promised at the 1990 elec- so long. condemned for many years.

creases social spending, especially little - he may now go to 3 per cent. quired them to make a profit - David Lange's Labour party broke 1999, should go more quickly if on health and education. But makes only minor changes to eco- regime - the Employment Con- were a major election issue. Peters when it came to power in 1984 and partner will be obvious to all: his old

toral system and a new govern- supporters and critics alike. The ment headed by two bitter foes. | coalition agreement was a catalogue Elections under the new German- of betrayal, says Ms Clark, who style proportional representation fought an effective campaign but system have forced the conserva- managed to capture only 28 per cent

The critics are now throwing back at Mr Peters some of the viru-This month the two men smiled | lently anti-National rhetoric that he for the cameras and signed a coali- hurled during the election camtion agreement - a political peace | paign. In August, for instance, he treaty ending years of mutual re- said: "The prime minister is not fit crimination. Mr Peters, sacked from | for the job, and come October he Mr Bolger's National cabinet in | will be out." In his campaign open-1991, now returns as deputy prime | ing in September, he said: "If you minister and treasurer, a senior fi- want National out, vote New

Asked to explain, Mr Peters says revolution in New Zealand, where he chose the party which would 12 years of radical Thatcherism | best deliver his party's policies. He have also brought economic and so- | also puts some of the blame on Jim Anderton's Alliance, a leftwing party In October, the country's first elec- which broke away from Labour and

him above the finance minister, Bill Mr Bolger and the Labour leader, Birch, a dour rightwinger who is a conomic and social policy he had which required the governor Don ity. National's far-reaching health re- tion to scrap the surtax, but when it Brash to hold inflation between 0 forms - which subjected hospitals defeated the Labour government it troubles. Coalition-building at the The coalition agreement in- and 2 per cent, has been relaxed a to competition for funding and re- broke its promise.

nomic policy - and has provoked | tracts Act, a successful mechanism | can take the credit for forcing | began the free-market revolution,



, to break the power of the unions — | National to increase spending and lwill be softened a little, but not | to scrap the profit requirement. much. The basic free-market thrust of policy remains untouched, despite Mr Peters's endless denuncia- bone". He has run a controversial tire animal". tion of it. Under the coalition antl-immigration campaign, and wins five of the 20 cabinet posts.

some victories for Mr Peters. Social will continue at current levels. spending will increase by some

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cate with Chinese leaders, They have a different set of values. Almost like alien beings."

- Singapore's stern, paternalistic autonomy" promised to Hong Kong elder statesman.

But Mr Tung also has considerable charm and modesty. He waits in the queue at immigration, even in Beijing, and uses a BMW in a city Mr Patten's executive council with more Rolls Royces per capita | where he opposed political and than any other - though the car most other reforms. Some even does carry the less than proletarian challenge his reputation in busi-badge of the Corps Consulaire, an ness, questioning a carefully conemblem of his role as honorary con- structed orthodoxy that he rescued sul for Monaco.

Despite his years in Live pool he's a graduate in marine engineering from the university. San firm, with more than \$2.5 billion of Francisco, Boston and the hybrid debt in September 1985, that helped East-West city of Hong Kong, he | launch Mr Tung's political career. It champions the values of the country | brought him into the orbit - and he left at the age of 12, when his trust - of Beijing business interfather, C Y Tung, the founder of the ests and officials. family shipping fortune, fled Shanghai for Hong Kong just before Mao Zedong's revolution.

deal of importance to their rights," to Taiwan. The subject remains see he said recently. "I am not saying sitive and rarely elicits more than that they are wrong but I think, for | brief answers. us Chinese, obligations are more important." Such comments alarm democrats. Beijing, with its invest- put together, praise Mr Tung's powment of trust and, in the past, ers of persuasion and tenacity. But money, is delighted.

"He is the type that appeals most a cause for concern. to Chinese officials. He is very cau-

But are these the talents needed | trust them."

Sparring partners . . . Winston Peters (left) and Jim Bolger seal their coalition deal PHOTOGRAPH: MARK BOND

Mr Peters largely lost his campaign to "cut immigration to the to be "the tail that wagged the en anti-Asian prejudice. But under the home of a streamlined Westminster The coalition agreement includes | coalition pact immigration levels | system where first-past-the-post

NZ\$5 billion over the three-year par- National Party to abandon the of the vote. Even with an untried crease in health spending might tax on wealthier pensioners. dits thought the process would take

The other pillar of the monetarist have proved deeply unpopular and a promise not to impose a surtax

to be "a Hong Kong Lee Kuan-yew" | to preserve the "high degree of after July 1 under the formula of "one country, two systems"?

Mr Tung's only experience in government was a four-year stint on ness, questioning a carefully conthe family shipping empire from his father's excesses.

But it was the near-collapse of the

China's role in the ball-out was not formally acknowledged by Mr Tung until two months ago, a reti-"The Americans attach a great | cence attributed to the family's lies

Bankers involved in the rescue plan, which took nearly two years to the secrecy surrounding it remains

"Why would the Communisty they know the family very well at

Betraval and broken promis have been the hot currency of politi cal debate in New Zealand for L2 years. They forced a radical realizment of forces, as the Allian broke away from Labour, and New Zealand First broke from National Both accused the older party of treachery,

Disillusionment is also nir among Maori voters, who this yez abandoned their 50-year-old sup port of Labour and massively backed New Zealand First. Mr Peters's decision to join National will be especially unpopular with Maori people. Some now predict that the five Maori MPs in his caucus will eventually split from the party. Mr Peters faces a huge chall lenge in winning over angry Maon voters. But he thrives on crisis and he has come back from political near-death many times before.

The move to MMP was an at tempt by a disillusioned electorate to bring the politicians to account. Now some are arguing that M Peters's policy about-face suggests that MMP is no better than the old system. The long delay in forming a government has also bred some disillusionment

Mr Lange, a critic of MMP, has excoriated Mr Peters and his protracted courtship by Labour and National. He said the two blg parties had allowed New Zealand First

Coalition-building is a new expegovernments wielded overwhelm But Mr Peters has forced the ing power with less than 50 per cent

But these may be merely teething next election, due to be held in only because Mr Peters's preferred friend and foe, Jim Bolger.

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Hatred disfigures **Promised Land**

T IS Monday morning, the t when 13-year-old Jewish boys come to the Wailing Wall lerusalem for their bar mitzvah. The scene is probably more bewildering to anyone whose experience of these rituals has been confined synagogues in London or Manchester than it is to a complete outsider. lu Britain the bar mitzvah boy read out his portion of the Torah in a neryous gabble amid a decorous hush Here, at Judaism's most solemn and sacred place, there were a dozen competing ceremonies a few feet from each other.

The boys' thin voices never stood a chance. Their male relatives were alongside them chanting far louder and more confidently. And their mums and aunties - barred from the temple confines --- were leaning over the fence, singing, cheering, World Bank, who was obliged to listhrowing coins. From a distance the ten to an hour-long economics lessounds merged into a general ululation, like an African funeral. Close to, the scene was more like a foot- cheerleader, ran a major piece de-

Twenty-four hours later, another Women of the Wall, who — far more quietly - exercised what they believed was their right to worship. They did not attempt to penetrate the men's section, which would have been an obvious provocation. However, a number were reportedly wearing kipot and tallitim - skullare normally only worn by men.

They were ambushed by a group of Orthodox Jews who hurled chairs at them. The police ignored the atlackers and threw the women out. "You can't pray like that." said one policeman, Later, a government minister told the women they were crazy and said, if they wanted equal-

Welcome to the New New Middle East. This is not the New Middle East promised by Shimon Peres be- Old City of Jerusalem in a systemfore the Israeli election last May. Peres envisaged an Israel living in peace alongside an independen Palestine. This was specifically, if narrowly, rejected by the electorate. They chose Binyamin Netanyahu as prime minister instead.

For months Netanyahu has been saying that he is on the brink of as his first success: an agreement GRE often, though, Israel against Palestinians was getting him had been crushed by a car, to leave for a partial withdrawal of Israeli withdraw troops from Hebron. This is a city where the normal difficulties of on the march, partly because people society." cated by the presence of a few hun- cause migration of Western, non-re- ministration serious about the possi- equivalent of Middle England. It is among the people Israel conquered like nuclear reactors: the 20 reli- after the state's foundation, Israeli deep and secret heart. in 1967 and whose fathers and gious party MPs, for instance, have leaders are still unable to empathise grandfathers massacred Hebron's | an average of six children each. original Jewish community in 1929. tine, as it was meant to be, but a the gates there is a piazza leading to rationally, without regard to their Palestinians more than they need Arafat who suddenly and improbaplece of unfinished business on a beautifully-tended grave which is own symbols or what is left of their them. "Do people in Sederot want to bly seems the reasonable man. is not obvious when or, even if, the It is the grave of Baruch Goldstein, government is matched by the denext step towards peace might who murdered 29 Arab worshippers spair and bafflement of the defeated

But on his return he finds a country split in two, extreme orthodoxy on the march, and fears growing of a new Middle East war

than 12 months have since the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, and seven months since the vote that brought Netan yahu to power. When I paid my first visit here just before the election, the road seemed open to a future of prosperity and, if not brotherly love, then at least a grudging co-existence between Israel and the incipient state of Palestine.

Now the landscape is transformed atterly. Israel's new rulers were elected to abort the idea of Palestine and to construct a different vision for their own state.

The nations of the world are united in their distaste for the new government. There are endless sto-ries of the prime minister's technical incompetence and crassness, like his meeting with the head of the son. Last month the Jerusalem Post, the new government's most reliable ball matche joyous, fervent, irra- scribing the appalling relationships between the prime minister and the military establishment and claiming group appeared. These were the that he no longer had any adviser who could give him accurate inforhis character, the most telling detail may be that after the election Netanyahu insisted he should no longer be known by his nickname of "Bibi". used by family, friend and foe since hate. he was a baby. He thought it undigcaps and prayer-shawls - which nified. This was not the action of a man comfortable in himself.

Israel's enemies have always found it easy to make unjust comparisons with the old South Africa. But it gets easier when you read that the government is preparing plans to corral Israeli Arabs in the Galilee into blocks of flats to prevent | wondered, learned anything from | them having a majority of the land; ity, they could go to the beach or the when you understand the reality the débacle over the opening of the that Orthodox groups, backed by American money, are buying Arabs out of the Muslim Quarter of the | Bar-Illan, "He's learned you can't atic attempt to Judaise the area; when you witness the casual contempt with which Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem deal with Palestinians; police. and when you hear that, as in Britain, the government has lately revised the gun laws. This one, however, has been making it easier to . carry one.

which he could not renege. Assum- | treated as a shrine. Bearded figures | dignity. ing the withdrawal happens at all, it | can be seen praying there regularly. in Hebron in 1994. This is not forces within Israel about their own he said. Sederot voted thore than horrific to contemplate.



Voice of hate: rightwing fanatics heckle a Peace Now demonstration in Tel Aviv

government does not formally conmation about Arab thinking. As for | any more than it condones the

While Israeli negotiators were talking to Yasser Arafat's officials and trying to put together a deal on Hebron, I was talking to David Barrector éminence grise. He is an urbane and pleasant individual. What he says is extraordinary, Had Netanyahu, I his time of office, particularly from temple tunnel in September, when rioting led to 75 deaths? "Yes," said trust the word of the Palestinian Authority. Before we worried about the violence from Hamas. Now we are worried about the Palestinian

"We expect Arafat to try it again. He doesn't like having to worry about book-keeping and garbage and that sort of thing. He loves tumult and turmoil and he thrives on it. One of the greatest crimes

powerful undercurrent of sympathy | lectual communities. A member of for Yigal Amir, the fanatic who the Tel Aviv middle classes could murdered Rabin. But the tone of the | spend years without meeting soadministration is one of lingering | cially anyone who voted for Netanyahu's Likud.

The most coherent psephological explanation lies in the huge group of recent Russian immigrants, who voted for Rabin in 1992 and Illan, the prime minister's policy di- switched sides, partly in response to the bus bombings in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem which unhinged the cause their leader, Natan Sharansky, allied himself with Netanyahu.

> is a town barely three miles from the Gaza Strip. Fifty years ago it was desert. Waves of migrants poured in they can't go back." from the countries where Jews were then from eastern Europe, to work, among other places, in the Osem chicken soup factory.

Just after the election, the local neral procession and forced the

but a betrayal. And in terms of his as a shock, though, to visit the Jew- durance and tradition and symbol- desperate for work. But here they make peace with the Arabs?" I The hope is that Keren is right

Judaism; this is barbarism. The failure Peres's Labour Party — and [two to one for Netanyahu over this may be unique in the democra- Peres. But they still may not get done the veneration of Goldstein, tic world - represents an alliance quite what they bargained for. between the business and the intel- When they see a foreign journalist. opposition politicians seem inclined to reject the most damning interpretations of Israel's situation. As one put it to me: "Bibi's a stupid idiot. but he's still our studid idiot."

Most believe that if the worst did come to the worst the country would rally round as it always has done and that everyone would obey orders. But they also believe the worst will not come to the worst and that the Bar-Illan view may not, in promise of peace, and partly be- | the end, prevail. "I think Bibi really believes you can't trust those Arabs," said Uri Dromi, who was chief spokesman for the Rabin and Peres administrations. "But I also B UT there is a vast mass of people who would have voted Likud anyway. Sederot Voted Likud anyway. Sederot and become someone else? Even it the government doesn't want peace.

"I think the peace process will persecuted, first from North Africa, | continue," says Michael Keren, professor of political science at Tel Aviv University, "because Netanyahu is the product of the modern, democratic Israel. All the pressure --chief rabbi blocked the path of a fu- from the White House, business, the military, the technocrats, the family of a two-year-old boy, who media - is towards peace. I don't think he will be able to escape his

It will be a familiar sort of irony it said the mother was insufficiently one day Netanyahu joins his Likud are turning to religion, partly be This does not sound like an ad- Jewish. This is not exactly the predecessor, Menachem Begin, and dred militantly anti-Arab Jewish ligious Jews is drying up, and partly bility of peaceful co-existence. What more like what the French call La winners of the Nobel Peace Prize. settlers in the heart of the city - because Orthodox Israelis breed is so astonishing is that, 49 years Yet it is not an old-fashioned | erament elected to talk tough to the with Palestinian resentments or to place. Sederot is still expanding; Arabs has found itself so globally re-Incidents like the one at the Wall understand why Arafat has been new homes are going up every- viled that its negotiating position But for many of Netanyahu's sup- and bizarre rabbinical pronounce- such a successful articulator of where. Just a few miles away there has been immeasurably weakened. ments are now routine. It still comes them. Judaism is based on en- are almost a million Palestinians It is Netanyahu who needs the Heown mandate, it is not another step : ish West Bank settlement of Kiryat ism, not on rationality. Yet Israel import contract workers from his government's international credon the way to an independent Pales. Arba, just outside Hebron. Inside expects the Palestinians to behave Turkey and Romania and fear the ibility disappearing completely. It is

> This incomprehension within the asked the felafel seller in the main | and that Israel and Palestine's joint : square. He looked up and down the destiny has been postponed, not street then shook his head, "Naah," | dancelled. The alternative is still too

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6 FOCUS ON EUROPE

French racists win over workers

Alex Duvai Smith in Paris

▲ FTER working his way up to \bigtriangleup the rank of senior prison

betrayed his working-class roots. For the first 26 years of his career, he was an activist in the comago, he founded FN-Pénitentiaire ---the National Front prisons union.

leaning men such as Mr Francès are grassroots bases for the extremist | Français, National Front.

position of the immigrants-out party, even when not threatened." whose leader gained 15 per cent of year's presidential election.

terrand's day, I voted Socialist.

politicians give us platitudes. The social role of our profession."

Pénitentiaire in September, he has recruited 45 of the 123 prison officers at Villeneuve-les-Maguelonne officer, Damien Frances, aged jail, near Montpellier. Five other launched a "campaign against glob-49, says he is proud never to have jails have created branches of the alisation" by leafleting striking workunion.

Mr Frances, who claims the main trade unions have lost touch with munist-dominated CGT trade union their members, was inspired by the in France's defence industries. And confederation. Then, a few months Front National Police, created a year ago. In workers' council elections last December, one in seven police-Across France, lifelong left- men voted for the FNP, giving it foothold among teachers, by foundfourth position among 18 police ing the Mouvement pour une Educataking similar steps. With a mission- unions and a voice on appointments | tion Nationale (MEN), which has ary zeal fired by anger at the postur- boards. FNP's members are secre- the same initials as the education ing and sleaze of mainstream live and the only measure of the ministry. But interest has been politics, police officers, transport | union's support is the claimed 10,000 | scant: less than 2 per cent of teachand defence workers are securing circulation of its journal, Policier

Alain Brillet, president of the / But Mr Francès and those like | Fédération Nationale Autonome de him are not policy men. And while Police (FNAP), said: "For now the politicised areas; among college stuthey admire the soupbox virtuosity | FNP is keeping a low profile. It just of Jean-Marie Le Pen, some are ap- campaigns on two issues; restoring | seats on housing association counpalled to be thought racist. Never- the death penalty and attempting to cills. Politicising the unpolitical is a theless, they want to consolidate the win the right for police to open fire | tactic that has worked among

But he said the FNP's presence the vote in the first round of last could lead to explosive situations. "Among a riot police squad at Mr Francès said: "I voted Le Pen Jarville, near Metz, 42.7 per cent of Catholics. at the European, municipal and pres- officers voted for the FNP last Deidential elections. But before, in Mit- cember. These people work on the Centre d'Etudes de la Vie Polihousing estates where there is tique Francaise, said: "The National "I do not consider myself racist much racial tension. In such a situa- Front's ideas are definitely progressbut the unions have let us down and tion, there is a potential for a gang ing, but in a patchy way and mostly tion. For most of the 17 million peo- would Le Pen speaks sense where other | mentality among FNP supporters."

National Front's ideas correspond unions is in keeping with the party's There is widely felt distaste about decade which filled the skies over with noise - respect for discipline, policy of "going out on to the corruption in the main four parties Berlin and Leipzig with cries of "We patriotic values and the eminent streets" - a populist approach con- and, in that context, Le Pen appears trasting with the Paris-centred activi- | clean,"

Since Mr Frances registered FN- | ties of the main parties, including the Communists. In October, the National Front's

deputy leader, Bruno Mégret, ers at a Moulinex factory in Normandy. Activists attend all demonstrations against the big cuts the party has created transport

workers' unions in Lyon and Paris, The party has tried to gain a ers voted for Le Pen in the presidential elections.

However, the party appears to be making inroads in traditionally undents and parents, and in seeking French animal rights groups which have a strong National Front base supported by Brigitte Bardot - and among traditionalist Roman

Pascal Perrineau, a sociologist at among people with few other politi- ple in the five east German states, The emergence of National Front cal reflexes than protest and anger. the euphoria of the turn of the west German growth. Instead,

Belgium's wealthy north shuns south

Stephen Bates in Brussels

HE most common car slicker in Brussels displays the red, gold and black national flag and announces defiantly: "United Belgians We Will Remain

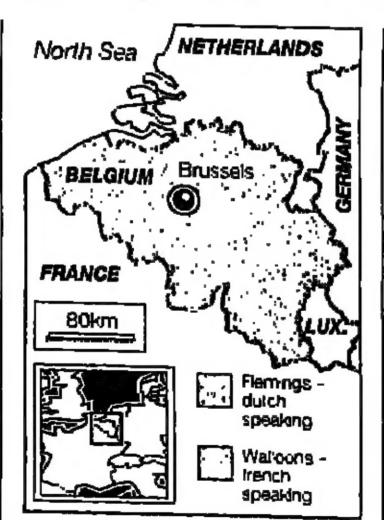
That it does so in three languages — Freuch, Flemish and German gives a clue to the tensions it seeks to defuse in a country barely 300km across and 150km from top to bottom. Belgium is preoccupied with separatist tendencies, at least as far as the Flemish north is concerned.

"Everything in Belgium has a linguistic dimension," a Flemish friend said. "And if there isn't one already, we'll find it."

Even the paedophile scandal, which has done much to unite the country in horror and grief, has a stages were Walloons - French | but my nationality is Flemish." speakers from the south and east. added a new dimension.

duction transfixed the Walloon com- to be in conflict." munity and whose discovery, buried in another of Mr Dutroux's back

cally smaller but now with a slightly in 1999. The national government, larger population — is exercising its | led by Jean-Luc Dehaene, a Flemish new economic superiority, after many | Christian Democrat, has Flemish | years of inferiority to the Walloons. Hugo Schiltz, mayor of Antwerp, socialist backing.



Flanders, said: "Many Flemings feel regional subtext. All the accused | that our contribution to Wallonia is | and all the victims in the early too high. I am a citizen of Belgium calculation.

From the Francophone side, Jean The discovery of the bodies of two Stengers, a former professor of his- broadsheet, said: "Before 2000, Wal-Flemish teenagers buried under a tory at the Université Libre in Brus- lonia will have to accept a degree of workshop in Charleroi owned by sels, said: "There is a deepening separatism. If not, Belgium will ex- crises and problems piling on his the chief suspect, Marc Dutroux, ditch between the two communities, different cultural and political élites. While An and Eefje were still [They lead separate lives, read differ-]

Belgium's federal structure, ders, Wallonia and Brussels. The side could cede control of the capital. The Flemish north - geographi- arrangement is due to be reviewed and Walloon ministers and French-

Belgium's second city, which is in | Only the rightwing nationalist | nomic credibility."

Vinams Blok calls openly for inde- | Deutschmarks have been pumped pendence for Flanders, but the more moderate parties also want greater devolved powers. The call centres on winning control of the social security budget. For the first 150 years of the Bel-

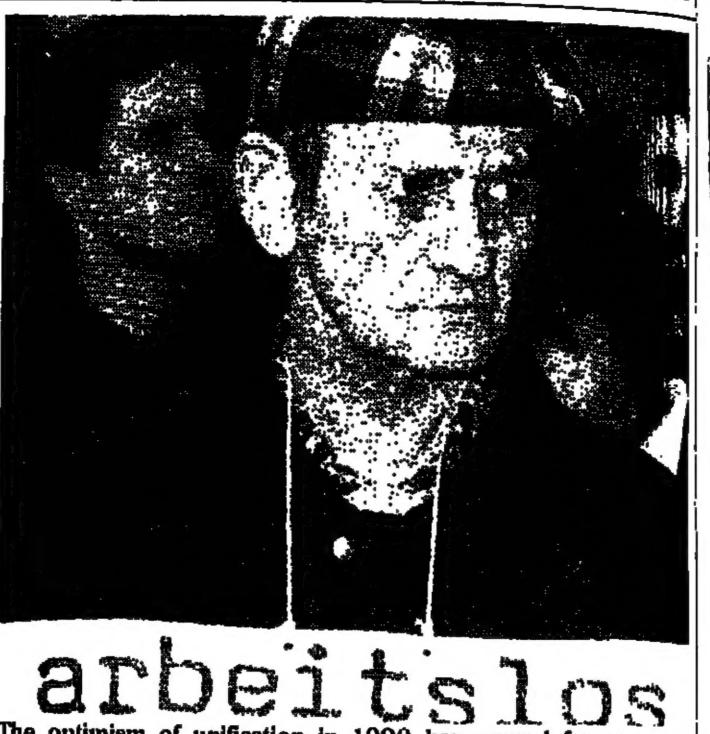
gian state, the Walloons - with heavy industry based on the mines and steel works of Liège, Namur and Charleroi - economically supported the farmers of Flanders. In the last 20 years, hi-tech industries have ex- | failing." panded in Flanders, while industrial plants in the south have decayed.

As well as an unemployment population and a more socialist, interventionist tradition. The Flemish say they are paying too much to support the south - estimates vary pervasive. from \$1.5 billion to \$8 billion a year - but no one has done a definitive

Pieter Vandermeersch, deputy editor of De Standaard, the Flemish plode, violently perhaps."

At the heart of the separatist stopped here," he says. "We're of Bundesbank opposition, was a pomissing, the Flemish papers gave ent newspapers, watch their own perable problem of Brussels. It is means 25 per cent of our firms dilemma is the almost certainly insu- stuck in a downward spiral that litical imperative and a huge them priority over Melissa and television channels. We are con- surrounded by Flemish-speaking could be threatened with closure Julie, the eight-year-olds whose ab- demned to live together but always areas. Flanders claims it as its capi- over the next year." tal. But 85 per cent of its population Real, as opposed to official, un- expensive manufacturing venue in speaks French. The Bruxellois do employment means that one in four adopted in 1993, gives administra- not identify much with either the east Germans will be out of work gardens, caused a national outpour- tive autonomy to three regions: Flan- Flemish or the Walloons. But neither next year, according to a report in ' October by a panel of economic:ad-Mr Stengers believes an even visers to the government. greater force will keep Belgium to-This is not the way things were gether: the huge national debt. "Our supposed to be. The pan-German debt is the greatest cement for nascript penned by Chancellor Kohl in tional unity. Trying to divide it would 1990 infamously looked forward to mean the collapse of Belgian eco- "flourishing landscapes" in east Germany within five years, suggesting | profits, but to get subsidies."





The optimism of unification in 1990 has soured for many cast Germans, with one in four facing unemployment PHOTO THOMAS HOPE

Bitterness as Germans fail to bridge east-west divide

ian Traynor in Bonn

AST GERMANS see themselves are one people, one country" has evaporated.

What was being billed a few years ago as the east German success story has turned sour. Seven years after the Berlin Wall fell --and after a colossal 1.000 billion into the east - its economic growth will be lower than western levels for the first time next year.

"The transfers have not been able to put the east German economy on a self-sustaining growth path," says Thomas Mayer, chief economist at Goldman Sachs in Frankfurt. "They've been used mainly to fund consumption and to kickstart the construction sector, which is now

Berlin itself is broke. Stripped of the subsidies that kept it going as and subsidy junkies. The tax is the showcase window on the West | called the "solidarity surcharge". Inproblem, Wallonia has an ageing through the cold war, the city staggers from one budget crisis to the next, with alienation between its eastern and western sections all-

From the rusting shipyards of the Baltic coast to the industrial wastelands of the southeast, the picture is German unification was an undigrim. And people are gloomy.

Franz Schuster, economics minister of the eastern state of Thuringia, desk. "The economic recovery has

(a) (b) (b) (b)

and the second second

that a few years of hard graft work seamlessly knit the two parts of the country together.

The subsidies and investment trigger an east German boom, which in turn would teedinte politicians and analysts now admit? will take at least a generation - perhaps 70 years - for standards of h ing to become level. If they ever do.

"You can no longer speak of an economic equalisation, but of a widening discrepancy between cast and west," says Wolfgang Thiere. deputy chairman of the opposition Social Democrats, and himself an east German.

This is not just the opposition berating Mr Kohl. The chancellor's conservative supporters at the influential Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung talked witheringly last month of Germany's economic unification being the "most expensive disaster since the war".

Meanwhile west Germans creasingly resent paying a 7.5 per cent tax surcharge to fund the east. and view easterners as whingers creasingly, this is a misnomer.

For their part, east Germans hate being patronised by the westerners, whom they view as interlopers and carpetbaggers who have hijacked their country and culture.

Politically and diplomatically luted triumph for Mr Kohl.

But however formidable his talents as a politician, Mr Kohi's strong suit is not economics. His one-to-one fusion of the two German currencies in 1990, over the heads economic liability.

Six years on, the result is that eastern Germany is probably the most the world, lagging well behind its post-communist Polish and Czech neighbours in growth and optimism. "West German unit labour costs

already top the league table of industrialised countries and in the east the unit labour costs are 30-50 points higher because of the productivity gap," says Mr Mayer. "That means nobody invests in the east to make

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for London. Who's

A chitects and followers of arsuspense to be had at the announcement of competition winners. The envelope is passed, a hush scends, and surprise, surprise. name Sir Norman Foster breathed into a microphone. This familiar plot was played out earlier this month when Sir Norman was revealed as the winner of the competition to design a £10 million pedestrian bridge across the Thames near St Paul's Cathedral.



phallus"

Plans, plans, plans, Casual observers of stories about buildings could be forgiven for thinking that | try, that is changing. Sir Norman's there is only one britisher architekt of any note, or at a push two. The great British architecture double act is Richard Rogers and Sir Norman Foster. Can you tell them apart laside from one being grumpy and the other charm personified)? Could you identify one of their buildings - excluding the unbuilt phallus - at 500 paces? Probably not, but the nair nevertheless exercise a firm grip on British archi-

lecture.

tories, and particularly in beating The snobbislines's seeped into the Lord Rogers in the competition to | office: Lady Foster started to take a revitalise central London, Sir Nor- part in the workings of the comman is pulling ahead. (Rogers, after pany, and staff were given instrucstealing a march on his early friend tions about forms of address for the with the Pompidou Centre, now has | couple to make do with the comparative wooden spoons of the Millennium Wheel and the Greenwich dome man's new partner is more in housing the Millennium exhibition, should it go ahead.)

Architect of choice for capital projects

Sir Norman Foster won the competition to build a new pedestrian bridge

surprised? He wins them all, writes Dan Glaister

This is the same Sir Norman Foster who in November won a £250,000 competition to revitalise the centre of London. Back in June he announced a £160 million plan to redevelop Wembley Stadium. Shortly after wards, his plans for a giant, £200 million motorway and viaduct linking south-west France and Spain at the Tarn Gorge were

Foster : everyone's favourite

unveiled, and in mid-September he found time to announce plans for a £550 million, 1,265-foot tower in the City of London, aka "Foster's

This, we are told, is a golden age

that is the National Lottery has, whatever its faults, released a mass of funds for capital projects. The To-ries, in setting up the National Lot-tery, knew who their friends were. The construction industry, as all Tory grandees know, must be kept happy. From buildings shall the trickle-down economic miracle flow. ∧ ND the winner is ... For ar-ND the winner is ... For artrack record and the clout to get chitectural news there is little | things done. His imposing office overlooking the Thames at Battersea exudes power and confi-And it is an impressive record. He made his breakthrough

in the mid-cighties with Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, the feng shui skyscraper shooting dag-gers at the bank's rivals. Stansted airport is his best-known British building to date.

He is currently involved in the Chek Lap Kok airport in Hong Kong, the Reichstag in Berlin, the Millennium Tower in Tokyo - the world's highest at 2,500 feet - and another, comparatively small skyscraper in Frankfurt. Skyscrapers in Senil and Riyadh also beckon, as does the British Museum, which, that institution's shaky finances permitting, he is due to remodel.

The consulting engineers for Sir Norman's Thames bridge proposal are Ove Arup & Partners, Sir Norman has the contacts and the muscle to get things done. Other designers such as Zaha Hadid may produce more startling designs, so seems to run the thinking on competition juries, but if you want to make sure your dreams turn into bricks and mortar, choose Normy.

With six offices worldwide, Sir Norman can oversee all this work, and enjoy the playboy hobby of piloting his private jet, perhaps stopping off somewhere for a spot o skiing, or whatever fashionable pastime has taken his fancy. Last year his salary more than doubled, from £209,000 to £457,000. His company. Foster Holdings Ltd, in which he | across the Thames will look has an 80 per cent stake, showed a 21 per cent jump in profits to £1.2 million in the year ended April 1995. Three-quarters of the company's turnover in that period came from the Far East and continental Europe. But with the help of the newly unleashed public enthusiasm for construction projects in this counprofile in Britain is rising fast.

With the turnover comes the lifestyle. Sir Norman's first wife, the architect Wendy Cheesman - with whom he had four sons - died of caucer in 1989. In 1990 he married Begum Sabiha Rumani Malik, who was to gain notoriety for suing UK customs for "slander by conduct" daughter at Heathrow. She lost the Now, with the latest string of vic- tion of her as an "insufferable snob".

The marriage didn't last; the couple separated last year. Sir Norkeeping with his cultivated image: younger, Spanish - Foster is lionised in Spain - with a saucy, for British architecture. The wonder | nudge-nudge background as a TV | the thoroughness of his work, the



(above) shows how the new £10 million pedestrian bridge when the project is completed. writes Dan Glaister.

The organisers hope that the construction, which will run from below St Paul's Cathedral

sexologist, and a respectable present as a Cambridge academic.

It's not bad for a working-class boy of humble origins. Now 61, Sir Norman was a council worker and national serviceman before leaving for the United States in 1962 to study under Sir James Stirling. There he met Richard Rogers, returning to Britain to form Team 4. comprising the two men and their wives. The experiment didn't last, after being searched with her and Foster set up his own practice in 1967. He has an eve for dates. case, and the prosecuting counsel | 1967 represented the high point of knighthood at the height of another. It was just in time. In 1990, the same year as he received his knighthood, the property boom nosedived.

But are his buildings any good? Part of the answer is to be found by | sultants was called in. asking other architects. This is instructive. Sir Norman is considered an architect's architect, even down to his renowned abrasiveness. His fellow professionals praise his clean designs, the quality of his drawing.

Bankside power station, the site of the new Tate Gallery of Modern Art — the first to be built across the Thames in more than a century --- will be finished in time for the opening of the Bankside gallery in spring 2000.

attention to detail, the after-sales service. Above all, they say, he satisfies the client.

And what do the clients think? asking the people who live and work had adapted to their situation. in his buildings. Reactions are budget. But his recent design for the new law faculty at Cambridge university, opened by the Queen. has come in for criticism from students and dons. Their complaint tures not only the light, but the made the papers with his descrip- an early enterprise culture, more noise as well. "It is a typical example than 20 years later he received his of architects designing for themselves and not for the people who Sir Norman's office apparently argued that sound levels were subjective. A team of independent con- they can't just run off."

him. Sir Norman, despite Lord | death is one too many." Rogers's wheel and dome, is the man bent on designing the next mil- Still Dying for a Home; Crisis, lennium for Britain. It is a potent | Challenger House, 42 Adler Street, ambition.

on the streets of London has from 47 four years ago, according to 1 1 A A

A third are dying from natural causes such as heart conditions, but suicide, drug abuse and pneumonia according to records of coroners'

was only slightly down on the 86 in 1992, despite indications that the number of people sleeping rough may have dropped by two-thirds

This indicates how much work may remain to tackle the remaining "hard core" of those on the streets, despite a £180 million government programme over the past six years. Crisis believes the figures underestimate the number of deaths because not all are referred to a coroner. The true total may be

An annual one-night street count of people sleeping rough in central London this year recorded 375, but the total number who are on the streets at least once in a year may be as high as 2,500, according to Crisis, It says there are rising munhers of young people on the streets Its report, published to coincide with the opening of its winter shelter network, said the average age of a rough sleeper dying from natural causes in London was 46, and that street dwellers were 35 times more likely to commit suicide, and four times more likely to die from unnatural causes such as accidents, assaults, murder and drug or alcohol poisoning. The death rate of the homeless compares with a national

Mark Scothern, the chief executive of Crisis, said: "Someone dies on the streets of London every five days. They die well before their time, in disconfort and without dignity.

The government programme had "lackled those who are relatively easy to help and, thank God, it has been able to do so" but help could not come quickly enough for others, on whom painstakingly long-term work is needed, he said.

It was often very difficult to integrate someone back into the mainstream of society after only three Part of the answer is to be found by weeks' homelessness because they

Simon Ramsden, a GP at Great mixed. He finishes on time and on | Chapel Street practice, in Soho, central London, where one patient dies about every 10 days, said: "Being homeless is a violent, dodgy existence. Every couple of months h would expect to see someone who was that the open-plan design cap- has been severely injured by someone attacking them.

"There is a trend to see homeless people as an easy target for a bit of thuggery, with people taking a use their buildings," says one don. sadistic pleasure in torturing someone when they are at their most vulnerable, in a sleeping bag, when

A spokesman for the Department Whatever the merits of his de- of the Environment said: "We quessigns, we are sure to see more of | tion the statistics but one premature

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8 THE YEAR IN BRITAIN **Tories totter on the brink of defeat**

James Lewis

📑 F 1996 did nothing else, strengthened the case for fixedterm parliaments. But, because the prime minister of the day remains free to go to the polls at a time of his own choosing, the nation was forced to endure a year of nonstop electioneering.

John Major's parliamentary majority was steadily whittled down by defections, deaths and byelections, and the Conservatives enter the - the first in Britain for 17 years. new year as a minority government The minority Callaghan government of the late seventics muddled along reasonably well with Liberal support, but Mr Major will find i much harder going.

Leading a party that is almost suicidally riven over Europe and monetary union, Mr Major could easily be brought down by a motion of no confidence between now and May. when a general election must be held. Pundits are already speculat- @Sourcesul1996ing that he may be forced to go to the country in February or early March.

a sure-fire vote-winner in the past. So the police got CS gas sprays, long-handled batons, and strength-"Rambo" knives.

In Britain, shooting is associated the next decade. with landowning; joining a good shoot is a big step up the social ladder in the shires.

The handgun ban — strongly opinquiry into the massacre, considered that tighter control over the issue of gun licences could have prevented it. But Mr Howard insisted on being tougher, though not so tough as many opposition MPs who demanded the banning of hand guns altogether.

Although it was an isolated incident, the Dunblane shooting, together with a machete attack on Birmingham schoolchildren by a paranoid schizophrenic, and the murder of a headmaster by a knifewickling teenager, greatly heightened the public perception of crime and encouraged fevered calls for a restoration of "moral values"

Frances, the eloquent wife of the murdered headmaster, Philip Lawrence, caught the public imagination with her campaign for "moral Grieving widow Frances Lawrence disease" - bovine spongiform en- party formed by Arthur Scargill, regeneration", though no one led calls for a moral crusade seemed to know quite how to set about it. Broadcasters were urged to curb the portrayal of violence on killed by a hospital nurse got its failure to persuade the European the trade unions. TV, and the Government promised | £500,000. Huge sums continued to to restore religion to the schools' be paid out to Service women and British beef world-wide. Because of can expect no special favours if curriculum. The Labour party even homosexuals claiming wrongful dis- the link between BSE and scrapie in Labour wins the election. They may might make more public appeartoyed with the idea of a "national | missal from the armed forces. bedtime" for children.

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Mr Howard's zeal brought him I into conflict with the British and poor exam results, have started pro- not only over the order to cull all Nor will new Labour rescind the still married. Public opinion, how European courts, which repeatedly ceedings against their school. Per- dairy cattle more than 30 months anti-union legislation of the ever, shows no sign of warming to



usurping its powers.

There is to be a national police in the past six years than in the pre- certain world in the first place. squad to tackle fraud, drug-dealing vious 60, and complained about the and money laundering, and there damaging effect of wild swings in raising the social costs of bad deci- though British beef consumption were new laws to prosecute stalkers penal policy. Although the 1991 sion-making. Environmental health slumped by nearly 30 per cent early and to ban the ownership or sale of Criminal Justice Act aimed to re- officials, for example, delayed pub- in the year, it was, by December, handguns over .22 calibre. And duce the numbers of those given lishing lists of shops selling meat only 3 per cent below pre-scare there may yet be a law to outlaw custodial sentences on the grounds that was suspected of causing the levels. But the export ban will rethat prison simply did not work, Mr | latest outbreak of food poisoning in | main in place until EU ministers are | Around 80 per cent of the 250,000 Howard hared off on an opposite Lanarkshire for fear of action by a satisfied that the cull has been comhandguns once held legally will now course that will increase the prison wrongly-identified shop. be outlawed. But shotguns, which | population - already a record can also kill people, escape the ban. 52,000 - by more than a quarter in election issue, was seldom out of hope to a peace settlement in Ire-

somely from the sudden British to rise, there were cries of "falling and win him an honoured place in appetite for American-style compen-sation demands. Policemen were claim, but the Education Secretary, be. The IRA "ceasefire" came to an sation demands. Policemen were claim, but the Education Secretary, be. The IRA "ceasefire" came to an posed by shooting clubs - was in awarded £1 million for the "trauma" Gillian Shephard, is to make the end in February with a huge bomb Duchess of York: selling her response to the killings of 16 chil- they suffered in helping victims of exams harder - a ploy which may blast in London's Canary Wharf, story to help pay her huge debts dren and a teacher at Dunblane in the Hillsborough football disaster in at least reduce the demand for uni- followed in June by a bomb which March. Lord Cullen, who chaired an | Sheffield, when fans were crushed | versity places. Meanwhile, the uni- made Manchester's centre look like | and a higher rate of infant mortality



The latest demand is by two 17- import of British lamb as well. year-olds who, because they got overturned his decisions as being haps the Government is partly old - which, on some veterinary Thatcher years. The Government the idea of a Queen Camilla.

either illegal or an abuse of his | responsible. By promoting Citizens' | evidence, is unjustified and unnec- | costs were the highest in the courpower. And his harsh proposals for Charters, and pushing public ser- essary - but over what they con- try, and that the capital had more The Home Secretary, Michael American-style minimum sentenc- vices to publish performance sider to be niggardly compensation low-income - as well as more high-Howard, spent most of the year as- ing also put him at odds with the ju- records, it has encouraged the idea payments and the slowness in income - families; that luner Lonserting the Conservatives' creden- diciary, which complained that the that those which do not meet mea- carrying out the cull because of don, where poverty is concentrated. tials us the party of law and order — | Home Secretary was high-handedly | surable standards, such as school | insufficient incinerators. league tables, should pay compen-The outgoing Lord Chief Justice, sation. Soon, it was suggested, chil-Lord Taylor, pointed out that Britain dren might be suing their parents ened powers to stop and search. has had more Criminal Justice Acts for bringing them into such an un-

Education, clearly marked as an threatened to impose education fees | caused damage put at £500 million. of around £1,000 a year on students, now have to borrow to maintain themselves.

vision of "a grammar school for | arrive at an agenda. In the absence | were both dissolved. As the mother every town", though Labour retains of a new ceasefire, the IRA's political of the second in line to the throne. its faith in a non-selective, compre- wing, Sinn Fein, remains excluded Princess Diana - now Diana, hensive system of schools. But from the talks. Britain now demands Princess of Wales - received a Labour's leader, Tony Blair, and a a "definite and lasting ceasefire", comfortable settlement of £20 mu-Harman, chose to send their own all violent activities, such as "pun- Highness. children to grant-maintained or se- ishment beatings", and stopped lective schools. Leftwingers muttered their displeasure, but few dare | Sinn Fein can be allowed in. rock the Labour boat with an election in sight.

Union to lift the ban on the export of

A CONTRACTOR STA LOW

'VERY WELL, ALONE'

740.21.8.96-

Two children were found, in March, to have the form of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease which has been linked to BSE, but there has been no further evidence to suggest The threat of litigation may be that beef is any longer unsafe. Al-

A year ago, Mr Major looked with the news. When the number of land - an achievement that would Lawyers stand to profit hand- passes in A level exams continued | revive his party's flagging fortunes | to death in an overcrowded enclo- versities, hard-pressed for funds, Beirut, blitzed 670 businesses and than anywhere else.

> on top of the money most of them | ster Unionists agreed to accept an | despair of those who bemoan the American, George Mitchell, as lowering of moral standards. The chairman of the peace talks in marriages of the Prince of Wales The Prime Minister spoke of his | Belfast, which took months even to | and his brother, the Duke of York. leading front-bencher, Harriet and proof that terrorists have halted lion but is no longer Her Royal building up weapon supplies, before fared rather less well and is report-

in Mr Blair's new Labour party, but biography, trailed in Hello! maga-Although the Government could in some constituencies its banner zine, suffered from the earlier hardly be blamed for "mad cow | will be flown by the Socialist Labour cephalopathy, or BSE - it was leader of the fast-dwindling National blamed for the way it handled the Union of Mineworkers. It won few sure; "stressed" parents of children | consequences of the disease and for | defections from the Labour party or

> sheep, the Germans banned the get a national minimum wage, ances in the company of Camilia though not necessary the hourly Parker Bowles, with whom he ad-Livestock farmers were furious, rate of £4.26 which they demand. mits having an affair when he was

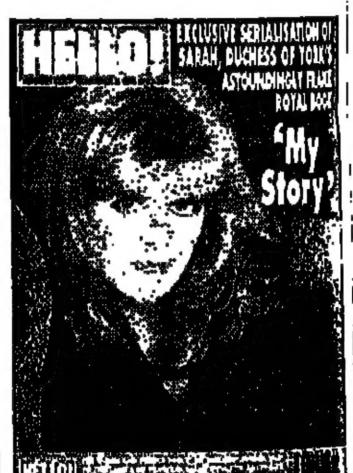
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now threatens public sector unions with even more legislation to curh their activities. They could be required to give longer notice of intended strike action, and customers may be empowered to sue them for compensation if they suffer losses through strikes. This was another "tough" response to a few 24- and 48-hour stoppages by postal workers and sporadic stoppages by drivers on the London Underground.

Meanwhile MPs voted them selves a pay rise of 26 per cent. 10 times the rate of inflation, while urging restraint on everyone else.

According to the world's lifestyle pages, London became everybody's favourite place: the hub of the fast ion world, with the trendiest bands the best art scene and the hippest atmosphere. Respondents to a survey of 500 world companies considered it to be the best place to do business. They reckoned it had the best access to markets, best availability of office space, best telecommunications, best transport links with other cities, and was easiest to travel around in. Their only big complaint was about pollution.

The city itself was more sceptical A report on "A Capital Divided" pointed out that London's living had more people sleeping rough. more people with mental illness.



The royal family continued to After much procrastination, Ul- delight its detractors and add to the

Fergie, the Duchess of York, edly in debt to the tune of more than "Socialist" may be a banned word £3 million. But sales of her autopublication of a more lurid account of her sexual exploits.

The entire royal family met to discuss ways of "modernising" themselves, possibly by slimming down what they describe as the Firm, but Mr Blair has told the unions they nothing emerged. There were suggestions that the Prince of Wales GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1996



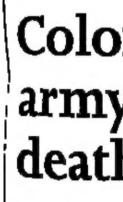
Alain Frachon

RANCO-AMERICAN rela tions are showing signs of wear and tear. This is nothing new; relations between the two countries have always involved periods of calm followed by phases | holds power in Kampala, Kigali and of misunderstanding. Indeed, the Bujumbura in order to carve out a culf between France and the United States is a standard topic on the opinion pages of US newspapers.

Recently, the air of misunderstanding has hotted up, resulting in oven conflict. Both sides may point out that Clinton and Chirac are hitting it off marvellously, or swear that the bilateral relationship is strong enough to allow differences of opinion. But the fact remains that the list of differences is growing dangerously longer.

Africa is the most recent subject of dispute. The row between facones Godefrain, the French minister with special responsibility to help Zaire's president, Mobutu US secretary of state, Warren | collapsing. Christopher, over the legitimacy of their respective countries' interests on the continent has been superseded by a dispute centring on the Great Lakes region of Africa.

The area, rich in the raw materi- tries' diplomats at the UN. als for fuelling such disputes. the English-speaking region of speaker and a regular guest in the idea. An exchange of notes



UMAN rights violations in Colombia have taken a turn for the worse, and attention was drawn to this on December 10 when France's Human Rights Prize was awarded to the José Alvear Restrepo Lawyers' Action Group.

Highly damaging accusations The European Parliament passed a similar resolution on October 24.

have been made in recent Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch reports on Colombia, and both organisations are urging the United States to suspend military aid to Bogota immediately to curb the activities of paramilitary units involved in serious rights violations. with the approval of the Colombian Bogotá.

The Colombian daily El Tiempo reports that in the past two weeks at groups and other institutions". least 73 people were killed by On December 8, the Colombian never been proven. paramilitary groups in the north of defence minister, Juan Carlos Es- The Colombian ambassador in the subject. the country. These groups, whose querra, reacted sharply to another Brussels, who has since resigned, massacre of 11 peasants reportedly | was denounced by the European numbers are estimated at about 2,500 men, are increasing their | carried out by a paramilitary group. | Parliament, which suspected him of He declared that he could not have using armed groups to clear influence, especially in the Uraba, Cordoba, Magdalena Medio, Llanos people "taking the law into their peasants off his property. and Cesar regions, own hands". However, according to A "secret" document widely Human Rights Watch, most of the taries are determined as much by circulated in the country reveals paramilitary groups have been set that a "third Colombian national up with the approval of the military tives. Over the past 10 years, landself-defence meeting" recently de- authorities.

cided to make the paramilitary A report drawn up in 1992 by been financing groups that they use struggle" against the guerrilla that many high-ranking officers, they then acquire cheaply. armed forces are operationally involved in operations later blamed taken the unprecedented step of of political violence. incapacitated", hamstrung by on paramilitary groups. In the setting up official bodies entrusted

groups the "spearhead of the several human rights groups claims to drive peasants off land, which

seMonde France stands alone in row with US

such as Burundi and Rwanda.

having dark intentions. Paris believes that Washington is engaging in a "regional ploy" by supporting the "Tutsi connection" that sphere of influence in the region -a policy that is apparently pursued at the risk of destabilising Zaire, or even favouring the break-up of the country. The US State Department's denials of this accusation have sounded rather limp.

Paris has come close to accusing Washington of torpedoing a planned military-humanitarian operation in the region in order not to impede the gains of Zaire's rebel Tutsi guerrillas, who are supported by Rwanda, Washington, meanwhile, is inclined to suspect Paris of wanting to mount the operation in order

second term as United Nations sation's military structure (which it Europe. secretary-general is another issue | left in 1966). likely to leave scars and to hamper co-operation between the two coun-

includes the vast expanse of Zaire, | the Egyptian diplomat - a French- | structure. The US strongly opposes | European Union.

Uganda, and francophone countries | French ministerial circles — France | between Clinton and Chirac does was seen to be taking an honourable Each side suspects the other of stand for the cause of the Third World, and particularly Africa, and the French language. It was regarded as a battle to be conducted with panache, as in the beyday of Gaullist diplomacy.

> Unfortunately, after assailing Washington's clumsy anti-Boutros-Ghali demagogy and congratulating the French on their diplomacy, the Africans realistically, if ungratefully, signalled they had decided to drop Boutros-Ghali and, by the same token, Paris

In the Middle East, the US did not appreciate the way France during the confrontation in Lebauon between Israel and the Syrianbacked Hizbullah militia.

Far more serious, however, is the dispute over Nato. President Jacques Chirac, aware that his partners in the European Union would

not seem to have helped to bring the two parties any closer.

If this quarrel is not settled, it could have lasting and very negais essential to the future of the EU -- the constitution of a European

France does not want maintenance of a strong trans atlantic link to provide the impetus for an increase in America's sphere of influence.

Unfortunately, Paris finds itself alone on this point, its view not really shared by its European partners. But the truth is that the barged into the diplomatic arena European positions put forward by the Elysée Palace.

France attributes to its partners a and military areas, and especially a "desire" to be free of the US, which they do not share. And this view is pean defence outside Nato, decided as a from the new members of products company Boutros Bontros-Ghali's bid for a to take France back into the organi- Nato, to be drawn from eastern

France wants a truly European pres- | gap between what France and the By throwing its weight behind | ence in the alliance's command | other member states expect of the

(December 10)

Colombian army link to death squads

Anne Proenza in Bogotá



government - to open an office of | Fear is the key ... A policeman searches youngsters for guns in the city of Medellin. Human rights the Human Rights Authority in | organisations accuse security forces of links with armed groups involved in abuses PHOTO TMOTHY ROSS

self interest as by political objec-

"pressures from human rights | absence of documented charges, | with ensuring that basic rights are however, the military's guilt has complied with. President Ernesto

The group — which has been | blessing, he failed to win a seat.

The activitles of these paramili- campaigning in Colombia for the past 20 years — says that the ularly high: of 100 people murclered for political reasons. Every other

(December 11)

Scandals dent Japan's ambitions

Philippe Pons in Tokyo

AN Japan hope to play a major world role while it faces so much trouble at home? Shinji Sato, the minister of international trade and industry (Miti), was not present at the recent ministerial conference of the World Trade Organisation in Singapore and it was an indication of the inertia that has overtaken a government bedevilled by a series of corruption scandals.

Japan expected to project its image as an honest broker between France are not even shared outside the industrialised world and the rest of the Asia-Pacific region, But Sato was detained in Tokyo, where he "European desire" in the diplomatic had to appear before the Japanese parhament to answer questions concerning the activities of about 100 senior civil servants in his ministry for co-operation, and the outgoing | Sese Seko, whose regime is slowly not follow him in building a Euro- likely to receive even less enthusi- who were in the pay of a petroleum

> The practice of giving and receiving bribes is endemic in Japan. And So the current friction between | scandals are breaking at a steady But Chirac will not go any fur- Paris and Washington also reflects a rate in spite of changes promised by ther, except on one condition: problem in European relations; the the prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, Reform of the administration is the goal he has set for this, his second, government.

The December 3 arrest of Nobuharu Okamitsu, administrative vice-minister of health, shows how high the corruption reaches. An administrative vice-minister is the highest-ranking civil servant in a ministry, and often performs the work of the minister.

The sad irony is that Okamitsu was appointed to his post with a specific remit to uncover further corruption in the health ministry relating to a HIV-infected blood scandal. The charge against Okamitsu is that he collected 60 million yen (\$600,000) in pay-offs in return for granting state subsidies to companies competing to build homes for the elderly.

The five-year infrastructure programme for the elderly, which has a colossal budget of more than \$90 million, was, in part, drafted under Okamitsu's guidance.

For building enterprises, badly affected by the crisis in the public works sector, this was manna from heaven. And they have rushed in, rewarding bureaucrats lavishly along the way.

A few days before Okamitsu was detained, Shigeru Chatani, another senior health ministry civil servant. was arrested. On secondment from the central administration in the Saitama prefecture (outside Tokyo). between 1992 and 1995. Chitani handed out subsidies and building Samper himself has spoken out on permits in proportion to the bribe received, while at the same time But in the view of Alirio Uribe. setting up a network of clients that chairman of the Lawyers' Action | enabled him to run for election to Group, this just "goes to show that | parliament on October 10. However, the situation is extremely worrying". even with the prime minister's

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Until now, Hashimoto has managed to stay above the fray. But for "impunity ratio" for crimes is partic- how long? He inherited from his father, a former health minister, the holders and drug traffickers have | in Colombia every day, 10 are killed | lobby of businessmen and bureaucrats who hang around the ministry. day, one person goes missing. To This lobby, it is said, has the "highdate more than 750,000 people have est esteem" for Okamitsu and movement because the "Colombian including generals, have been The Colombian government has had to leave their homes as a result approved his appointment as viceminister of health. (December 10)



Véronique Maurus looks at the work of the capital's gamekeeper

T IS a little-known fact that the Greater Paris area has its own **Jan** gamekeeper — or, to be more accurate, its "national hunting and wildlife warden". Pierre, like his warden colleagues elsewhere in France, wears a green and sandcoloured uniform and a kepi, and the revolver in his holster is loaded

He performs a wide range of tasks. He does his best to nab poachers who operate in the few pockets of woodland still left on the outskirts of the capital. He makes sure people do not take pot shots at protected species. He combats the illegal trade in animals on the endangered species list. He even inspects game sold by butchers.

National wardens used to be little more than an anti-poaching brigade | owls and other birds of prey --- all of controlled by the powerful hunters' | them protected species. federations. They have now become

works hand in hand with Pierre. He wears the same uniform as Pierre, even in Paris — are peaceful folk.

ing helicopters and heavy ex- | could easily bite your head off." changes of fire in October, they arrested a gang of poachers in the

Genevoix's best-selling novel Rabo- It survived the onset of winter. liot (1925), would count his car-

equipped, and kill as many deer and boar as they can before making off in their four-wheel drives. They sell to butchers, restaurants and taxiderinists. It is a lucrative trade: a red deer fetches anything up to 15,000 francs (S2,800)

Keeping tabs on taxidermists is difficult. The law is so strict — they are not allowed to handle any protected or poached animal - that fraud is widespread, "There are 400 officially registered taxidermists in France," says one of them, Michel Vaillier. "But the illegal trade is done only in underground workshops, of which there are believed to be 2,000-3,000."

With numbers like that, routine inspections are ineffective. But sometimes Pierre has a stroke of luck. Last year, his jaw dropped as he looked into the window of a specialised caterer: it was chock-ablock with stuffed animals - stoats,

Sometimes he gets depressed guardians of wildlife who work for about the public's ignorance of the the government and co-operate with Jaw. For on top of the fraudsters, police, customs and the veterinary | there are a lot of thoughtless people and fire services. "They are the true | who satisfy their collecting urge by police force of our national her- buying monkeys, parrots, mygales, itage," says Jean-Marie Ballu, head | and even panthers and anacondas, | of the National Hunting Bureau | thus encouraging the international (ONC), which employs the wardens. I trade in such animals and some-Paul, who is Paris's fish warden. | times endangering their own lives.

recently swooped on a bistro where organised smugglers. The made in week to digest a rabbit. The goods good to eat, such fish can grow to but does not carry a gun: anglers - a bad-tempered chimpanzee was rare animals is extremely lucrative. come out intact. We keep a very | up to two metres in length and are threatening customers. "That's Certain brightly coloured macaws close eye on such animals, People carnivorous, It is not Pierre's or Paul's job to when you see how stupid people play at being Rambo. The ONC has | can be," he says. "When you look at | up to 300,000 francs. special units for that kind of thing. a chimp's teeth, you say to yourself In the course of an incident involv- that its owners must be mad: it from South America regularly bring all the middlemen suspected of sup- lap dog? "That's rubbish!" Paul said.

There are thought to be 30,000 pet | canisters. Bigger fry transport ani- - pet shops, zoos, circuses, tamers, | It's not the catfish, but pollution." monkeys in Paris. The fire service mals through three or four coun-Pyrences who had been shooting has even set up a special "monkey tries so as to cover their tracks. mountain goats with machine-guns. | unit". Someone recently spotted a | According to international organisa- | of protected animals are required by | the ailing population. "Not mallard, Gone are the days when the crocodile having a swim in the tions, the smuggling of protected law to have an entitlement certifi- surely?" asked Plerre. "I'm afraid poacher, immortalised by Maurice | Marne river. It is not known whether | species is the third-largest illegal | cate and to keep a record of | so," Paul replied, "They're not

Tracking down monkeys and arms trafficking. tridges and kill only what he needed | crocodiles is not really part of to eat. Today's poachers work in Pierre's job. He intervenes in an ad- increasingly common: "Reptiles are out a supermarket specialising in the law?"



He and some veterinary officers | tively, in an attempt to flush out | drugs," Pierre says, "A boa takes a | Lake Vincennes. Although very under threat of extinction can fetch | are getting more and more cunning."

in parrots squeezed into cardboard plying customers with such animals "The ducks are dying from disease. trade in the world after drugs and purchases and sales. But even well- allowed to - mallard is a wild

The mixing of genres is becoming | the rules. Pierre recently checked | the authorities themselves break gangs, are highly trained and over- visory capacity, as well as preventi- often used to transport diamonds or pets and found some rare parrots

French regions at odds over the bear facts

Stéphane Thépot

HE Portet d'Aspet pass, situ-Lated in superb Pyrenean scenery at an altitude of 1,069m. marks the geographical dividing local inhabitants. line between the départements of the Ariege and the Haute-Garonne.

proudly proclaims itself to be "bear natural state. country" and favours their reintroduction, while inhabitants of the Ar-

form part of the commune of Melles, only a few kilometres as the crow flies from the Ariege.

waiting for this moment since 1993, your side," Barnier stressed when | forming the canton of Castillon-en- | the boat if the "bear country" slogan when he signed a charter with the he came to Melles. Melles and three | Couserans (Ariège) officially called | turns out to have the effect of boostthen environment minister, Michel other small neighbouring com- for Melba to be recaptured and the ing tourism. The interest of Haute-Barnier, providing for the reintro- munes in the Haute-Garonne that reintroduction experiment to be Garonne councillors has increased duction of bears on two conditions: | are sympathetic to this new ap- | halted. that the government would come up | proach have together formed an | Robert Zonch, the Socialist gen- | park", which would enable thou-

with aid for the economic develop- Association for Economic and family'," he says ment of the area, and that it would Tourist Development (Adet). provide assurances that the boistering of the bear population would im- charters or recognise borders. After dogs and lightning cause much and the panda." pose no particular constraints on their release one of them, called more damage to flocks every year

This approach was deliberately Valley in Spain, while the other, different from the one adopted by It is also the point at which the an earlier environment minister, the Ariège. Both animals turned more time working on the problem local population's attitude to bears Brice Lalonde, in the Béarn, a part their noses up at the feeding sites of their "social acceptability" than cards? "Lourdes took off because of - once numerous in the region and of the Pyrenees farther to the west, set up on Adet territory in the hope on his scientific reports. But there the Virgin Mary; we've got our now virtually extinct - changes and now the only area in France of encouraging them to settle there. are a number of farmers and coun- bears," says Rigoni, He has to radically: the Haute-Garonne side where a few bears still live in their The bears were more interested in cillors, particularly in the Haute- admit, though, that tourists have not

Lalonde's plan to set up special summer grazing in the neighbour- to support and take part in the The local sheep-farmer, who sells bear reserves that would to all in- ing mountains. iege categorically reject the animal. I tents and purposes be sanctuaries At the beginning of last summer, from which man was banned had accepted that 17 attacks on sheep in the quite generous scheme to that there was not even the tiniest two she-bears captured in Slovenia | the effect of polarising the hostility | have taken place, resulting in the | compensate for loss of livestock | were released in the mountains that of hunters, sheep farmers and local death of 40 animals. The grievances (about \$250 per sheep killed) and in summer. councillors.

mental policy against the people's cillors. The mayor of Melles had been | will - you have to have them on |

But Slovenian bears do not read heads Adet, points out that stray the world except for the polar bear Ziva, made a beeline for the Aran than the newly arrived she bear. Melba, set up her main territory in the bears, admits he now spends Mourtis. the flocks of sheep that spend the Garonne, who say they are prepared

So far, the monitoring team has "You can't conduct an environ- passed on to the team by local coun- dies available on Adet territory.

In September, the 26 communes | sure their communes do not miss



Smalltime smugglers flying in | police, Pierre makes spot checks on | not averse to the occasional duck or bogus breeders and so on.

established pet shops often break species. But what can you do when

eral councillor is outraged. "Melba | sands of visitors to look at bears in is just a wretched illegal immigrant situ, has been resuscitated. who has been abandoned by her

Rigoni, who was hired to monitor experiment now under way.

There are advantages for farmers of angry shepherds have been the various mountain-grazing subsi-

And councillors want to make now that an old plan for a "viewing

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next to the canaries. The store manager said she was about to get a certificate and did not keep a record of what she bought and sold. Pierre gave her the benefit of the doubt. Paris and its suburbs also have

their own population of wild animals - rabbits, foxes, weasels, starlings, magpies, crows, kestrels, woodpigeons, mallard - which it is Pierre's job to protect and, often prevent from causing damage, Mos urbanised species are pests.

Rabbits, which tend to proliferate around airports, dig holes in lawns destroy flowerbeds and ruin footbal pitches. Foxes can pass on rabies Stone martens hide in lofts, where they destroy insulation, electrical wiring and alarm devices. "Stone martens are playful animals, and they love digging up flowers i cemeteries," he says.

IERRE advises local councils on how to cope with the ani-inal population. Sometimes he urges them to install wire netting sometimes to call in one of Paris's 50 or so registered trappers. But he has no illusions. Overzealous animal lovers destroy traps that have been set to protect nestlings from predators. Councils are reluctant to be seen destroying pests because they fear an environmentalist backlash.

Recently, the St Denis council called Pierre in. A sick fox had been found hiding in a staircase. The council has no animal pound, and no one wanted to kill the animal, even though it was potentially daugerous. They left Pierre to deal with it.

Paul's problem is the giant catlish that fishermen have introduced into

Was it true, as environmentalists With the help of customs and the | have claimed, that giant catfish are The local council recently released It is a painstaking job. All owners | 42 ducks on to the lake to replace

(December 5)

"It's a major project," says Rigoni enthusiastically, "It will enable peo-André Rigoni, a biologist who ple to see every species of bear in

Forty hectares have already been earmarked for the project near the small winter sports resort of

Is an economic miracle on the exactly taken his village by stormewe's-milk cheeses called "Pays de l'Ours" (Bear Country), grumbles upturn in his cheese sales last

(December 3)

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1996



The military leaders are using a potent formula to keep sanctions at bay, writes Glenn Frankel



T 7 HEN NIGERIA'S military government hanged the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other political activists in November 1995, world leaders such as Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela reacted with shock, anger and the promise of punitive measures. But the campaign for severe sanctions never got off the ground --- thanks in large part to an aggressive lobbying effort spearheaded by the Nigerian government and the oil companies that have a major financial stake in the African country.

Nigeria's lobbying success is a textbook example of how even the most unpopular of foreign regimes can neutralize their opposition in Washington with money and influential friends. It also illustrates the Clinton administration's lack of resolve when it comes to Africa. Rather than take the lead, the administration sought a consensus with countries in Europe and Africa for harsh measures against Nigeria. When that effort failed, it allowed the fate of the world's largest blackruled nation to slip silently from its agenda. "The very aggressive rhetoric of a year ago ended up basically as just hot air," sald Janet Fleischman, Washington director of

Human Rights Watch/Africa.

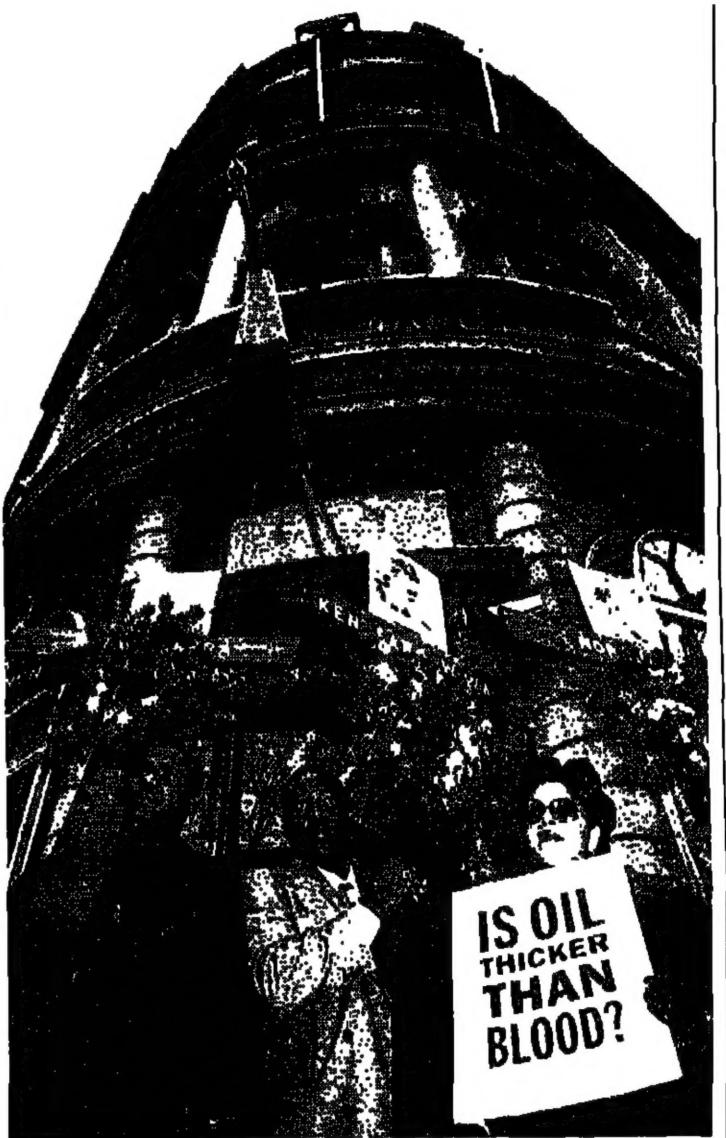
Nigeria is at once both Africa's most promising country and one of its most troubled. The world's ninth largest oil producer — it supplies United States, 8 percent of total US oil imports - Nigeria remains burdened by ethnic, geographic and religious conflicts and has spent most of its 35 years of independence under military rule.

Gen. Sani Abacha became the latest of a long line of Nigerian mililary masters in 1993 when he annulled the presidential election that was supposed to restore civilian rule and imprisoned the apparent winner, Moshood Abiola, along with hundreds of supporters.

Abacha's regime has staged its harshest crackdown in Ogoniland in southeastern Nigeria, home of some of the country's richest oil- | oil embargo. fields. Saro-Wiwa's dissident movement began as a protest against the poverty of Ogoniland and environmental degradation there, and de- sales of military equipment, a reducthe region. The government saw the US ambassador and a broadenment tribal leaders, and sentenced said they would take further steps by the military government, which sanctions would only succeed in bers and supporters. them to death without appeal to in collaboration with European and also ran eight-page, full-color adver- pushing up the price of heating oil civilian courts. Royal Dutch Shell, African states, and did not exclude tising supplements in a dozen or for Americans. which has been criticized by human an embargo on Nigerian oil sales. rights advocates and environmental- Nigeria receives more than \$10 ists for allegedly colluding with the regime in repressing local protests | for 90 percent of its foreign export and despoiling the region, declined to intercede on Saro-Wiwa's behalf, and then made a plea at the last

possible minute. After the hangings, a coalition of American human rights, environ- government employed the services | ment a chance to enact democratic mental, black and labor groups of nine US public relations and lob- reforms. launched a campaign for strong bying firms spanning the American o dall Robinson, president of the lob- were the law firm of Washington & American blacks who had de- country's rulers unscathed - and tion - and no action?

The Washington Post **Nigeria's Rulers Mix Oil and Money**



about 600,000 barrels a day to the A demonstration in support of Ken Saro-Wiwa outside the Nigerian PHOTOGRAPH GRAHAM TURNER embassy in London

a letter to President Clinton signed mocrats, which reported receiving - including Bill Cosby, Jesse Jack- | six months of the year, and Symms, son, Coretta Scott King and 28 members of Congress — calling for tough measures against the Abacha regime.

Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kansas) and Rep. Donald M. Payne (D-New Jersey) introduced companion bills in the Senate and House that would have cut off most new US investment in Nigeria and laid

At the same time, the Clinton administration announced a set of mild sanctions, including a ban on billion a year from oil, accounting diate economic pain.

Nigeria fought back. The Lagos

Lehn & Associates, an Alexandria firm headed by former Idaho senator Steve Symms (R) and Alfred Lehn, former aide to Bob Dole. which reported receiving about ports and other information, Nigesince the hanging.

Virginia and an associate of Symms, more black-owned newspapers in the United States.

Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Illinois). the Senate's lone black member. tion to give the Nigerian govern- | heating oil.

manded US sanctions against whiteruled South Africa in the 1980s could not ignore repression when tives of non-governmental organiza-practiced by black rulers in Africa. tions that he was "very But he says he knew from the be- uncomfortable" with the administraginning that sanctions against Nige-ria would be a hard sell because the two participants. But Robinson and regime had lots of oil money. Even other critics said Christopher himbefore the hangings, he says, he self had appeared disengaged from was approached by a Nigerian busi- the issue. nessman with close ties to the government who offered him up to regime. Robinson rejected the offer. "Oil money makes a huge differmony against the sanctions bill be-Moseley-Braun and Rep. William J. ate the impression that the Congresthe issue, according to a Senate staff member who worked on the

Nigeria.

One of the key lobbying groups was the 107-member Corporate The ECAUSE of its size and Council on Africa, a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to logue rather than confrontation was | response. more likely to produce political bargo against Nigeria would accomconcentrate power and wealth in the hands of a few," said David H. Miller, the council's executive director. "It's a great press release but it would be counterproductive."

ria's critics have estimated that the their respective legislative commitregime has spent more than \$10 | tees. Meanwhile, the Clinton adminmillion in the United States on istration was also spinning its the groundwork for an international lobbying and public relations efforts wheels. Advocates for further sanctions - including then National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, John tive representatives was state for human rights, and Timothy Maurice Dawkins, a former | Wirth, undersecretary of state for

earnings and 80 percent of govern- and Nation of Islam leader Louis | would disproportionately affect | test looms. ment revenues, and an international Farrakhan returned from their own New England, a region that is a embargo would have caused imme- trips to Nigeria urging American | major customer for clean-burning blacks and the Clinton administra- Nigerian "sweet" crude used in

could lead to retaliation against American companies doing busi-ness in Nigeria. Before his trip to Africa in October, then Secretary of State Warren Christopher told a breakfast meeting of representa-

The administration opted instead for more consultations with its St million to drop his criticism of the allies. President Clinton wrote to European leaders last March proposing a series of steps --- such ence because it puts spunk in the as freezing Nigerian assets in their spine of your enemy," he said. Testi- countries - designed to pinch the country's rulers without damaging fore a Senate subcommittee by its economy. But US officials say the leaders of Britain, Germany and Jefferson (D-Louisiana) helped cre- France - home to several large oil companies with major stakes in sional Black Caucus was divided on | Nigeria - were lukewarm at best. Mandela, the South African president who had helped engineer bill. This made it easy for other law- Nigeria's suspension from the Commakers to beg off. But he said a big-1 monwealth of Nations within days of ger factor was the lobbying effort | the hangings, backed off after the by major oil companies such as | United States failed to respond to Mobil Oil, Amoco and Chevron, as his public call for more severe same well as several non-oil firms with in- 1 tions. "The US wanted cover from volvement in a \$2.8 billion liquefied | Mandela and he wanted cover from natural gas project in southeast us," said one US diplomat. "It just didn't work out."

K wealth. Nigeria dominates L the Organization of African promoting Africa's economic devel- Unity and contributes a major paropment and business relationships | tion of the peace-keeping force in between African countries and US | war-torn Liberia, and other African corporations. The council, which re- | states are reluctant to challenge the ported receiving \$10,000 each from | regime. When Christopher raised Conoco and Chevron to lobby on 1 the subject of sanctions with Manthe issue, argued to lawmakers and dela and other African leaders duradministration officials that dia- ing his Africa trip, he got a cold

With the first anniversary of the reforms in Nigeria. "We honestly hangings, human rights activists bying group TransAfrica, organized | Christian, run by liberal black De- don't believe a unilateral oil em- relaunched their campaign with demonstrations and renewed calls by 54 prominent American blacks | \$600,000 from Nigeria for the first | plish much except to further | for an oil embargo against Nigeria and a boycott of Shell, which is the biggest and most influential of the foreign companies operating there. Relatives of Saro-Wiwa and another of the victims have filed suit against The lobbying effort effectively | Shell in federal court in New York \$300,000, Based on disclosure re- killed the Kassebaum-Payne bills. | alleging the company collaborated which were never even voted on in with the regime in human rights and environmental abuses, allegations the company has denied

The Nigerian government has released some political prisoners and held local elections in an attempt to show it is moving toward a return to NE of Nigeria's most effec- | Shattuck, the assistant secretary of | civilian democracy in 1998. But Abiola and many of his supporters remain in detention and Kudirat manded a share of oil revenues for tion in humanitarian aid, a recall of Republican senatorial candidate in global affairs - pressed for tougher Abiola, who had pressed publicly for measures. They were opposed by her husband's release, was killed in the movement as a secessionist ing of an existing ban on visas for Lehn. He recruited prominent representatives from the Depart- June on the streets of Lagos by threat. A military tribunal convicted Nigerian officials and their families. American blacks, such as newspa- ment of Commerce and other unknown gunmen. The government Saro-Wiwa and his backers of incit- Then, after an initial high-level per publishers and clergymen, for economics-oriented Cabinet agen- used the killing as justification for ing the murder of four pro-govern- review. State Department officials fact-finding trips to Nigeria paid for cies, who argued that unilateral the arrest of two dozen family mem-

> Administration officials say they have not ruled out further sanctions Among the documents they cited against Nigeria, and they believe was a report from the Petroleum | the Lagos regime is acting cau-Industry Research Foundation in tiously because it knows its beha-New York that an oil embargo vior is under scrutiny. But a new

Nineteen more of Saro-Wiwa's followers still face trial for the same charges that led to his execution. Will the threat of sanctions stay the Pointing to the example of Iraq, | hangman? Or will the regime calcuopponents within the administration | late that the Clinton administration Robinson, a longtime opponent of also said sanctions would likely hurt and the West will again opt for sanctions. One of its leaders, Ran- political spectrum. Among them military rule in Nigeria, argued that average Nigerians while leaving the sweeping declarations of condemna-

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12 The Washington Post/U.S. **Military Goes to War on Narcotics**

The use of troops to counter smugglers reflects the Pentagon's growing involvement in law enforcement duties, writes JIm McGee in Fort Bliss, Texas

HROUGH night-vision gog-gles, the drug smugglers re-sembled a pack team in an old Joint Task Force Six (JTF-6), the a rugged ravine in the Coronado National Forest near Nogales, Arizona,

U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers, watching the remote mountain priss from two camouflaged observation posts in the trees. waited until the procession had sauntered past before issuing an alert over a secure radio channel.

At Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson, a U.S. Forest Service of ficer sitting in the base command | citing the threat to the nation's socenter jotted down the Green cial and economic order, believe the Berets' information and relayed it to Pentagon's role should be even a National Guard OII-58 helicopter crew, which took off for the ravine.

Using an infrared radar system and map coordinates provided by | Government Reform and Oversight the Army, the helicopter crew soon spotted the horses and tiders. Within minutes, a posse of sheriff's deputies and Forest Service officials driving Ford Broncos had arrested booty: 2,404 pounds of cocaine.

bedded in the nation's drug war, as 1 munications systems. the Pentagon increasingly is drawn into domestic police missions long military for anti-drug duty has considered the province of civilian vielded an uncertain dividend. The ever. Active duty forces are comple- role to counter-terrorism. During the previous year. law enforcement agencies.

congressional scrutiny, the military's | creased, according to federal drug | hidden support strut inside federal | clear warfare response team was de- | ships and Airborne Warning and domestic role has become broad and officials. And critics contend the law enforcement. Unless called to ployed to Atlanta, FBI Director Louis Control System (AWACS) planes deep. Since 1989, when Congress military has edged toward a legal federal duty, the National Guard is J. Freeh recently urged Congress "to to set up a virtual blockade in and the Bush administration for- threshold that has been a singular not covered by Posse Comitatus and take that infrastructure, which was the Guff of Mexico. The operamally ordered the military into the feature of U.S. civil-military rela- has more latitude in undertaking specific to the Olympics, and expand tion led to some large seizures, drug fight, the Pentagon has spent | tions for more than a century; a gen- | law enforcement missions, more than \$7 billion on counter-drug | eral ban on military involvement in operations. Last year, more than | routine domestic law enforcement. 8,000 active duty and reserve soldiers, sailors and Air Force person- we are already pressing the outer intercepts for the Drug Enforce against such threats, nel. — a force almost equivalent to an infantry division - participated in | desirable," said James X. Dempsey | now has more personnel assigned 754 counter-drug support missions of the Center for National Security to counter-drug activities than the such as Jon R. Thomas, former as- from transit lanes to source on U.S. soil that led to 1,894 arrests.

Special Forces teams monitor the and Greenbelt, Maryland.

Western movie: three riders and Defense Department headquarters nine horses, winding single file down that links the nation's military forces with domestic law enforcement agencies. In promoting a partnership between military and civilian forces, JTF-6 circulates to police departments a 55-page "Operational Support Planning Guide" marketing the use of Green Beret units, Navy SEAL teams and Marine reconnaissance patrols.

Many supporters of the military's involvement in drug enforcement greater. "I think it should be getting larger," said Rep. Bill Zeliff, R-New Hamoshire, chairman of the House national security, international affairs and criminal justice subcommittee.

For some military commanders, counter-drug operations provide the samgelors and seized their useful training while making soldiers feel that they're involved in a The Coronado Forest episode, vital mission, Civilian law enforcehad more dramatic sweep than most for the technological acumen and fight cocaine trafficking drug busts. But the case was typical professional competence the armed in illuminating the extent to which forces provide, particularly with so- construction. The law prohibits Army [tial hazard. "It should [have been] a the U.S. military has become em- phisticated surveillance and com- involvement in domestic arrests or temporary stopgap," Korb said, "but | lion in 1988 to \$438 million in

The billions spent mustering the | extended to the other services. availability of cocaine, heroin and mented by thousands of National Olympics last summer, a Marine With little public fanfare and scant marijuana in U.S. cities has not de- Guard troops, who have become the Corps chemical, biological and nu- a massive deployment of radar

> bounds of what is constitutionally Studies in Washington.

Rio Grande, Marines patrol the Cali- McCaffrey expresses wariness about Guard's counter-drug coordinator. fornia desert and Army intelligence overstepping a legal tradition that has officers watch for criminal activity its roots in the Posse Comitatus Act secretary of defense during the Rea- said. "Posse Comitatus was a real ing a new \$13.5 million comfrom investigative centers in Miami, of 1878. The statute was a response gan administration, argues that the smart idea. It was basically saying, mand center in Key West, New York, Los Angeles, Houston to post-Civil War abuses by occupa- open-ended nature of the military's look, we don't want the military with Florida, which put military tion troops in the South during Re- | commitment is the greatest poten- | police power."



which occurred last year, may have ment officials are generally grateful US Customs officers are working alongside the National Guard to drug war and Congress more PHOTOGRAPH. RICK BOWMER

searches and seizures, a ban since it's been institutionalized."

Military units are involved, how- to extend the military's domestic

U.S. Customs, analyzes intelligence for the Defense Department to begin cocuine in U.S. cities. "There is a very strong claim that for the FBI and translates wiretap training state and local authorities ment Administration. The Guard DEA has special agents on duty, ac- sistant secretary of state for interna-Even an arclent drug warrior like | cording to Col. David Friestad, the | tional narcotics matters, are uneasy

Worldwide Heroin Production Soars

William Branigin

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Case-

EN 1

A.

F ficking rings and ineffectual or | cording to estimates compiled by | States in recent years, Colombian corrupt governments, the world's the CIA and cited by McCaffrey, It production of opium has risen dra- takes about 10 tons of opium to peddle heroin to try to keep their matically in recent years and is make one ton of heroin, drug ex- share of the U.S. narcotics market, pushing up addiction rates for perts say. heroin, according to the U.S. drug nolicy chief.

general who heads the White House to Southeast Asia that overlapped angle," which spans the borders of opium producer, Afghanistan, Burma, Thailand and Laos and produces most of the world's opium. | drug trafficking organizations - | U.S. demand of about 10 metric tons the narcotic from which heroin is among them Nigerian, Chinese, derived.

Global opium production has are "aggressively" marketing heroin

duction is looking for a market- cent of the world's total, but "we're with the takeover in Burma of the Nigerian suspects. And at the in-Barry R. McCaffrey, a retired place," and its greatest impact is seeing some disturbing trends State Law and Order Restoration vestigative center in Greenbelt, likely to be in the regions where among young people," McCaffrey Council, a military junta known as Maryland, military intelligence Office of Drug Control Policy, opium poppies are grown, McCaf- said. recently expressed alarm about the frey said. He said drug trafficking increases after returning from a trip and addiction are up sharply in has risen from virtually nothing a China, notably near the Golden Tri- few years ago to 65 metric tons last President Clinton's visit to Thailand. angle, and in Pakistan, which bor- year, surpassing Mexico, according McCaffrey visited the "Golden Tri- ders the world's second-largest to the CIA figures. Together, the

Colombian and Mexican rings ----

doubled since 1988 and is now in the United States and Europe. As comes from Burma, the world's as a permanent part of the UELED by expanding drug traf- about 4,000 metric tons a year, ac- cocaine use has fallen in the United biggest producer. Based largely on Pentagon's job. gangs in particular have sought to under cultivation, agency estimates on a scale both small and large.

The United States currently has "This massive commodity pro- about 600,000 addicts, only 2 per- production in recent years coincides often on Colombian, Mexican or

Opium production in Colombia two countries now produce more At the same time, international than enough heroin to meet current a year, McCaffrey said,

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 28 1996

How Drugs Sucked In The Army

TOR MORE than 20 years. enthusiasm for flinging the military into the drug war has ebbed and flowed in Washington writes Jim McGee. In the late 1970s, the Carter administration provided military assistance to source countries, such as Mexico, to help eradicate marijuana fields, but left in place strict prohibitions against more overt military involvement.

President Ronald Reagan. faced with a burgeoning cocaine trade, first mustered the Pentagon for the drug war in 1981 by declaring international drug trafficking a threat to national security and assigning his vice president, George Bush, to head a drug task force that advocated extensive use of milltary assets.

The military's role grew slowly, however, constrained by the Pentagon's discomfort with the new mission and modest funding from Congress.

But in 1989 the concept gained new traction. President Bush ordered the Pentagon to participate vigorously in the than doubled the Defense Department's counter-drug appropriation, from \$200 mil-1989, For fiscal 1997, Congress appropriated \$947 million, a 16 percent increase over the

Initially, the Pentagon favored but proved expensive and had The Guard inspects cargo for | Congress appropriated \$350 million | little impact on the availability of

Concluding that such massive interdiction was fruitless. Even early enthusiasts for a vigor- President Clinton ordered a shift ous military role in the drug war. of military counter-drug assets countries.

This approach fostered a new network of interagency task "Where does it stop?" Thomas forces, such as the one occupyofficers in seats next to federal agents. The modified strategy has resulted in thousands of pilots, soldiers and military

Such integration has occurred translate telephone conversations The increase in Burmese opium garnered by DEA eavesdropping, officers assemble files on drug gangs in Baltimore and analyze pects in Fairfax County.

"Once the military was told by sion," James X. Dempsey said. "then they were institutionally bound to make it permanent and pervasive."

Lawrence J. Korb, an assistant

ica is dwarfed by that from Southeast Asia, which produces 60 per- commanders cross-training in a cent of the world's opium. Of that, civilian law enforcement spethe CIA figures show, 92 percent cialty that is increasingly viewed satellite reconnaissance of the areas put Burma's 1996 opium production In Utah, 125 soldiers work to at 2,560 metric tons and rising.

Moreover, there is new pressure

it into a much larger framework."

about the drift.

SLORC.

"The jury is still out on how much SLORC is involved in drug produc- financial transactions by sustion," McCaffrey said. "But we can say that the drug production is up, not down." He said the junta's "dis- the Congress and the president mal" human rights record is an ob- that this was part of their misstacle to U.S. cooperation in trying to reduce opium cultivation, which is carried out largely by hill tribes in Still, the output from Latin Amer- | remote parts of the country,

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1996

Critics who wrote off John Le Carré after the fall of communism have found the master plotter is still one step ahead, writes David Streitfeld

FEW years ago, a fan sent paperback copy of his most the 92nd Street Y, he was in adefamous novel. The Spy Who Came quate form, which is to say as good in From The Cold. This would have as anyone in the novel-writing busibeen a pointless exercise, but ness. Last year in San Francisco he stamped inside was the original owner's name: Aldrich Ames. The novelist kept the book, although with mixed feelings. found it a little bit dirty, a bit | so skillfully that you aren't aware of creepy," he says. "Like having someone break into your bedroom."

The most notorious American spy since the Rosenbergs was, it seems, a big fan of England's most famous spy novelist. Ames's library, sold after his arrest, included the Being entertaining in person would writer's Smiley trilogy, which is take energy away from being entertion agents known as moles. A mole, | maybe a decade of novel-writing devastatingly was.

The conventional view of Ames is | ence away." that he betraved the CIA and sent men to their deaths for money. But | Pendel does just that, if rather un- tragedy more palatable. le Carré believes that, in the end, | willingly. Harry is recruited as a spy God. 'If I do this, will I be caught? | to be surrendered by the United Do you still love me if I do that?"

of discretion, putting down a half- there's a need for information. And people who can't speak for themmillion in cash for a mortgage, buy- in a small country like Panama, one selves, the inarticulate who grow in rich without a little white powder ing a \$50,000 white Jaguar and so very expensive tailor can get con- numbers every day, have no proper sticking to their fingers." on. "That was really an invitation to | fided in a lot. A wife who works for a | spokespeople." his maker to lose patience. He knew high official in the Canal Commisif nothing else.

saying that the end of the Cold War | cretly corrupt. Harry's controller is | education spots." Southeast Asia | ity. For that reason I am not surmade him as relevant as a writer thrilled by this bonanza. So are the was first; he saw the endgame in prised to learn in this case his keen about pirates. Instead, le Carré nim- controller's bosses, who add their Vietnam. "I became, shamefully or sense for 'cloak and dagger' ambly shifted gears, secretly glad to own spin. In short, this is a novel otherwise, a war tourist of a sort." biance should spill over from his fichave a new tonic.

His last three books are set in places like the Caribbean or the ligence business. "I would love to Caucasus - border regions that know what the CIA has spent on two epilogues, The Russia House lime. Our own Western perestroika | be half the national debt." hasn't even begun. "The mere fact that communism

didn't work doesn't mean that capitalism does. In many parts of the | ing it around the globe are becomglobe it's a wrecking, terrible force, ing ever more sophisticated, so do no one knows what will result when to the name Lolita, and now they're traditions, ecologies and stable sys- formation." Le Carré pauses to publisher hoped that the canal tents with the same ruthlessness as decry what he variously terms "po- would become a late-blooming issue Mafia glamorous; without Puzo, communism."

this really isn't the right term. In le one correct attitude to any one prob- will get their game together in time Carre's new novel, The Tailor Of | lem." He means things like the U.S. | for the paperback. Panama, his hero, Harry Pendel, invasions of Panama and Grenada, has a gift for "fluence": the ability to the Persian Gulf War. "The manipu- country, each of two to three weeks. trayal, yet secretly powerful. "He talk impulsively and eloquently, lation of truth seems to go hand-in- He would meet someone who would changed the image of the spy from a making his theories, arguments and suspicions believable to everyone. Not least himself.

For le Carré, fluence has provided wealth and fame. Harry Pendel isn't nearly so fortunate; and in his comic downfall is a trace of there-but-for-the-grace-of-God. The novelist confesses: "I'm punishing nivself."

David Cornwell adopted the name John le Carré so long ago he now says he can no longer recall

INTERVIEW/The Washington Post 13

New Horizons for Cold War Warrior

why he chose it. He has come to this swank room in the Carlyle Hotel, New York, grudgingly, as he always does. He hates interviews, hates hearing himself talk about himself, hates giving up an air of mystery. "This is positively my last appearance," he says. He has said this before.

The odd thing is, he's so good at talking, particularly in public. It's John le Carré a gift. It was a the fluence. Two nights before at was superb. Ditto North Carolina in '92. Proof of his verbal talents can be found on the many audiotapes he has made of his work: They're done the narration, just of the story. This is the way fiction should be, and rarely is.

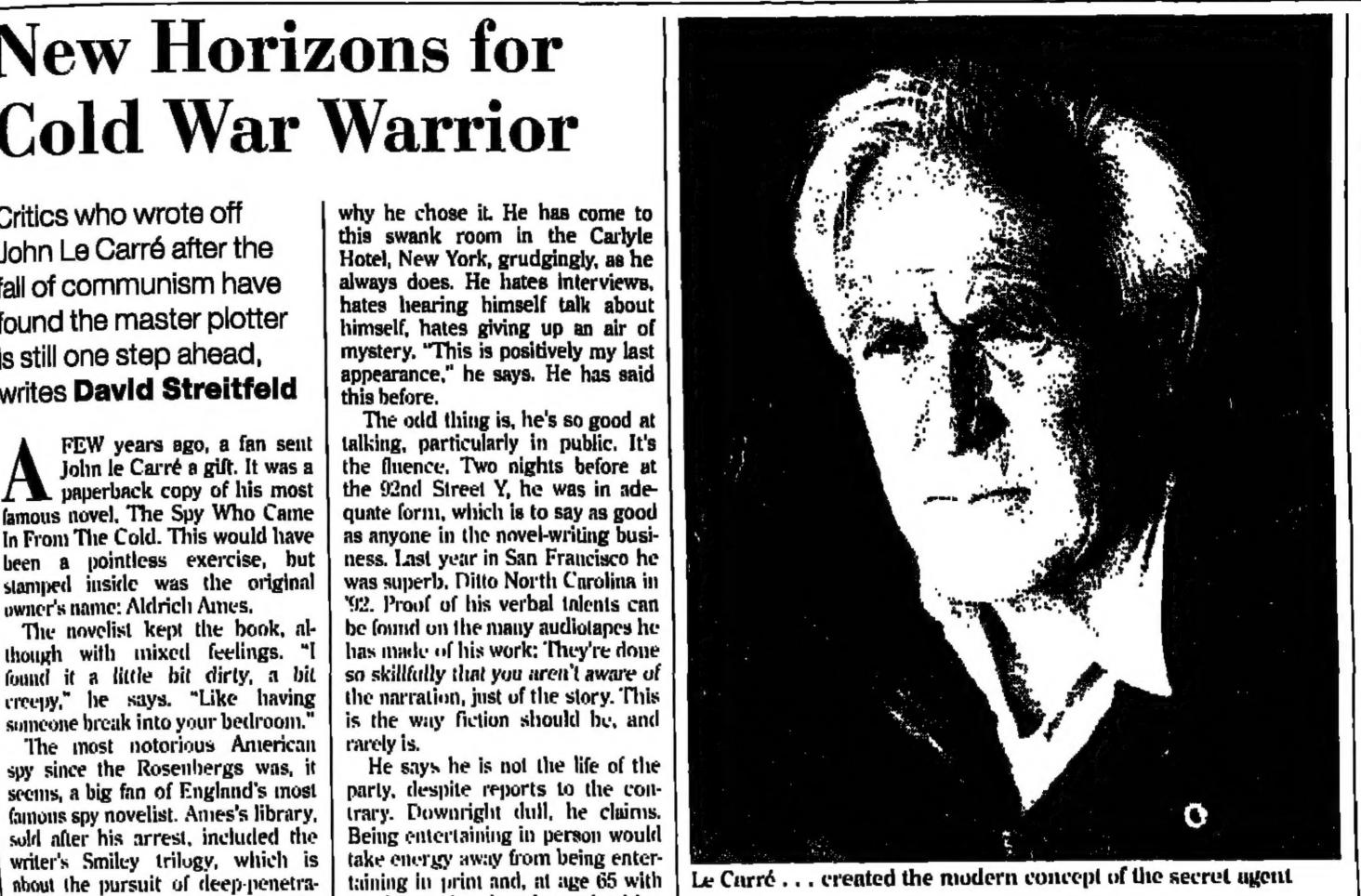
He says he is not the life of the party, despite reports to the contrary. Downright dull, he claims. bed at 9 o'clock. I don't give the flu-

States on December 31, 1999, is up are describing life, the articulate mainly by cooking minor facts into All the books until then had been about self-deceit.

It happens all the time in the intel- Schoolboy, one of his best books.

ting worse. "As the systems for lisplacing people, ruining lifestyles, the opportunities to manipulate inlitical correctness or sound bites or in the presidential campaign, but no He apologizes for "ranting," but family values," the notion "of only such luck. Maybe the Republicans

information. way up the government and journal- ing all they saw. This sort of hands- I cracy. One reason it took so long to



In The Tailor Of Panama, Harry | that uses comedy to make the | rally, but not without work.

There's a break in le Carre's work The result was The Honourable | tion to his perception of facts."

Ames was having a dialogue with | Panama," he's told. The canal, due | son why we think that life is good in | the New York Times Magazine. an edge, including lines like "Every-Ames blatantly broke all the rules | for grabs. Where there's intrigue, | people, are on the gravy end. The | body knows that in Panama even the best of men find it hard to get

After the Cold War, there were N / OST novelists borrow from offer "a theater for the real future fabricated information," le Carré and The Secret Pilgrim, But then, in LV L their imaginary landconflict, which is going on all the says. "Over the last 25 years, it must The Night Manager, he turned to scapes. A lucky lew find that the then come after her. the arms and narcotics trades. In | world returns the favor, taking the The fibbing and faking are get- Our Game it was the fragmentation writer's concepts or phrases and inof the former Soviet empire. Now | troducing them to common usage. propagating information and speed- Panama, a place that has slipped Vladimir Nabokov coined the term John Gotti would have just been a run-of-the-mill hood.

Le Carré created the modern concept of the secret agent: rum-Le Carré made five visits to the pled, besieged by trouble and behand with the availability of introduce him to someone who glamorous figure to a bureaucrat, would introduce him to someone | which is closer to the truth," says In Tailor the corruption, the mis- else. Soon he ended up knowing David Wise, who has written widely statements and distortion go all the what his characters knew and see- on espionage. "The CIA is a bureau- to imitate people."

'The mere fact that communism didn't work doesn't mean that capitalism does. In many parts of the globe it's a wrecking, terrible force'

catch Ames was precisely for bureaucratic reasons. You're reluctant to suspect someone who is a member of the club."

The novelist has gotten a good return out of what he calls "my little university," his seven or eight years as a spy himself during the late '50s and early '60s. It's been an infinitely adaptable setting. The only one o his 14 novels not to use the secret world as a backdrop was The Naive And Sentimental Lover in 1971. A fictional rendering of an intense emotional relationship le Carré had with another couple - the novelist James Kennaway and his wife, Susan - that novel was merely the writer spying on his own life.

For years, the nevelist has protested that he doesn't know much about the real world of spics. and for years no one has believed him. The spell cast by the novels is so effective that in the early 1990s East German spymaster Markus Wolf was repeatedly identified in news accounts as le Carré's model for the Soviet spy chief Karla. Le Carré says he hadn't even heard of Wolf when he invented Karla, and rejects the German's latter-day attempts to whitewash his actions, calling him "the modern equivalent of Albert Speer . . . a nasty little twerp," Still, the myth persists.

"Of course, it's fun in a way to have one's fantasies taken for real," he says. Only in a way, though. "There of course, is exactly what Ames so | left, who would want that? "I go to | istic ladders. "Everyone is using | on research is vital for le Carré; he | is a kind of guilt in the which my truth as his whore," getting it to do speaks of pretending he is one of his character Harry ought to be feeling. whatever he wants. This is a novel characters. The fluence comes natu- I it's a feeling that has perennially haunted writers - the sinfulness. In the novel, the most sympa- the corrosive eye that the writer "Corruption," he believes, "really | thetic characters are the Pana- | brings to stuff. Graham Greene "as traitors and some criminals do, for the British. "We're reopening can destroy to this extent. One rea- manians. Le Carré's recent article in talked about the chip of ice." Greene. le Carre's only competition for the America is that most of people who | "Que) Panamal," had a bit more of | title of best spy writer of the century. weighs on the younger man's mind these days. The Tailor Of Panama is an acknowledged homage to the late master's Our Man In Havana. Le Carré is now moving into the age The new Panamanian ambas- when Greene wrote his lesser books. sador to the United States, who be- He has mentioned before that it the stuff. He knew how they find sion is a bonus. Harry does come after Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, his came a friend of le Carré's during would have been a good idea if somepeople." He knew from his le Carré, up with some great information, seventh novel, published in 1974. the novelist's Panamanian visits, felt one had told Greene not to publish a he had to protest. In a letter to the few of those. Le Carré vows, "I will But if Ames misread le Carré, so elaborate confections. The Japanese set in Europe, a setting he had magazine. Eduardo Morgan gently not end up as an old man struggling did the critics who tried in the early | want the canal. The revolutionaries | grown weary of. "I decided I was sit- tweaked the writer: "I am aware that to keep up his literary reputation." 90s to put the novelist on the shelf, are stirring. Certain officials are se- ting on my ass too much. I selected novelists live in a world beyond real- When the fluence is gone, he says, he's sure to know.

His father had an abundant supply to the end. He was always promoting nonexistent deals, which landed him in the slammer more than once. The writer's mother fled early, with a real estate agent who was himself marthe real world to create ried. She didn't take the two boys because she feared her husband would

Recipe for a horrible childhood: "Boarding school, holiday school, foster parents, proxy mothers for a holiday or a few weeks at a time, below American radar even though "nymphet" and gave a certain spin constant changing of women until he married one stepmother, then the canal is turned over. Le Carré's both stock expressions for a certain another stepmother. Masses of type of girl. Mario Puzo made the women running concurrently and consecutively."

It's surprising he didn't fly apart. become a spy only to become a traitor. There could have been a time when, properly spoken to, I could have been seduced into rebellion." he tells the audience at the Y.

Instead of anger, le Carré was driven by an eagerness to please. "I became an entertainer. 'Go on. David, tell the one about so-and-so.' I loved

But if this was the birth of the fluence, it also was the origin of his ambivalence. 'Being 'a novelist means training your brain to work a certain way; after a time it can't be helped, or stopped. He mentions the French term for it: deformation professionelle. It sounds like a disease, an inherited one perhaps.

14 FEATURES Virtual understanding

British and Australian schools are to trade world views on the Internet. writes David O'Relliv

spin-off benefits for British schools. set aside for a two-way exchange of cultural activities between Britain and Australia, involving everyone from poets to astronomers.

New Images was devised by the the early 1990s that views of Britain were locked into stereotypes about Beefeaters and historic buildings.

· ·

try to the other as contemporary. satellite-linked launch in February. British/Australian jokes. Children in hundreds of schools

land are planning similar tie-ups the prototype for ventures to test by Zeus, rather than the dull maps that it should keep its value. Those beyond state borders, in the

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The finished projects will be pub-lished on the Net during 1997 as prototypes for other schools to adapt,

Thousands of Web surfers in both countries will be asked to con-PLAN to use the Internet to to collect up-to-date information L try to reforge cultural links about the attitudes of each country with Australia may have big to the other. The survey will be posted on the Web in January, al-As part of a campaign called New | lowing the British Council to draw images, the whole of 1997 is being off data over the next few years to determine the impact of the New images programme.

"There are some cleverly openended guestions and the themes are across the board, from things like British Council after former Foreign | Britain's trading relations to where Secretary Douglas Hurd grew con- people look for style," says David cerned during a visit to Australia in | Blagerough, British Council head of business relations. "What does the weather do to people's state of mind? What would living in the British and Australian officials de- | other country be like? The survey cided to try to showcase each coun- will ask people to discuss proposi- things and floring, of guineas and tions like: all Australian men are groats. So why not the pound sterinnovative and hitech places. The | macho, all British men are wimps. | ling? We may even find some novel Internet is to play a key role in the There will be an attempt to plug into campaign, which will begin with a humour about one another, classic [£ symbol. Recollect that the curly L

in both countries are to be given the perceptions. Our assumption is that soldi and denarii of ancient Rome: chance to work up collaborations | people in Australia think of Britain | this is not the first time Britain's via the Internet. Already there is a as being regal theme parks and money supply has been controlled plan for primary school children in | cream teas and the crown jewels. London to link with schools in Bris- And likewise here, there is an bane to create drawings and stories assumption that Australia is Neigh- ter idea to draw on these Latin about each other. Schools in Bed- bours, Dame Edna and beaches. Lerms in the search for a new Euro- week fordshire and Northamptonshire Those are the assumptions and they pean currency, rather than lopping a will link with high school children | may well be untrue. But if they are, syllable off the name of Zeus's para- from inflation, because German | money is convertible or not. The in outback Northern Queensland to New Images is about trying to mour. Or, if euros they must be, to bankers hate inflation more than shilling is local; it belongs, at best create a "virtual tour" of their local change them", Mr Blagerough said. give them mythological weight with anything. And it's true that the most in the national bank, but the eutoareas, and schools in Northern Ire- The survey could also become an engraving of Europa's abduction important thing about a currency is belongs with dollars and yea.



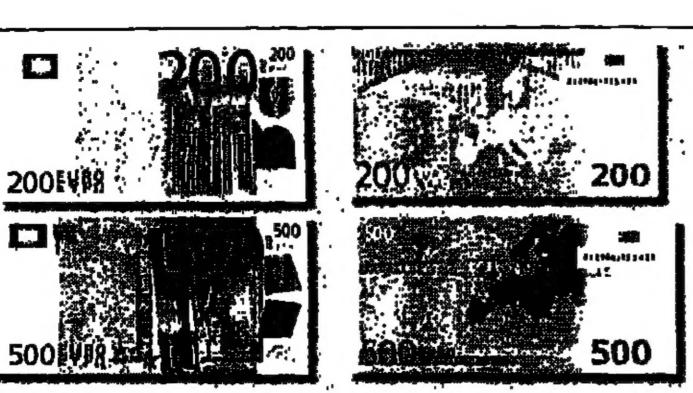
CITY OF WORDS John Ryle

HE NAME has no mojo; the designs for the notes are nondescript. Yet I'm sure we'll all get used to the aura of the euro. We coped with decimalisation, with the loss of shillings and pence, of faruse for that keyboard curiosity, the denotes, by origin, the first unit of "We make assumptions about the an old imperial currency, the librae, to be rich: the lowest denomination Ugandan told me that he had been from outside the country,

with some in Western Australia. cultural ties elsewhere in the world. 1 and bridges on the published de-1 who have lived in countries suffer-1 lucrosphere.

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Some of the euro notes unveiled in Dublin this month

A pocket full of euros

sign. (The French are good at this: their bank notes are the prettiest there are. If the Germans must run the fiscal side, let the French do the design.) But it's too late now. As with so much else in the European Inion, the decisions seem to have been taken without any public discussion. The euro it is, at least until someone invents a nickname for it. (Suggestions on a bank note, please, of any denomination.)

As I say, euros are something could get used to — if I had enough of them. And it seems that the European Monetary Institute expects us get the wheelbarrows?" Anothe unveiled at the Dublin summit earlier this month was a five-euro note, | carry the money. He had to hire a while the highest was 500, which is likely to be the equivalent of be- to the vendor's place. It took them Perhaps it would have been a bet- tween £300 and £400 - more money than most people see in a

The euro, we are told, will save us

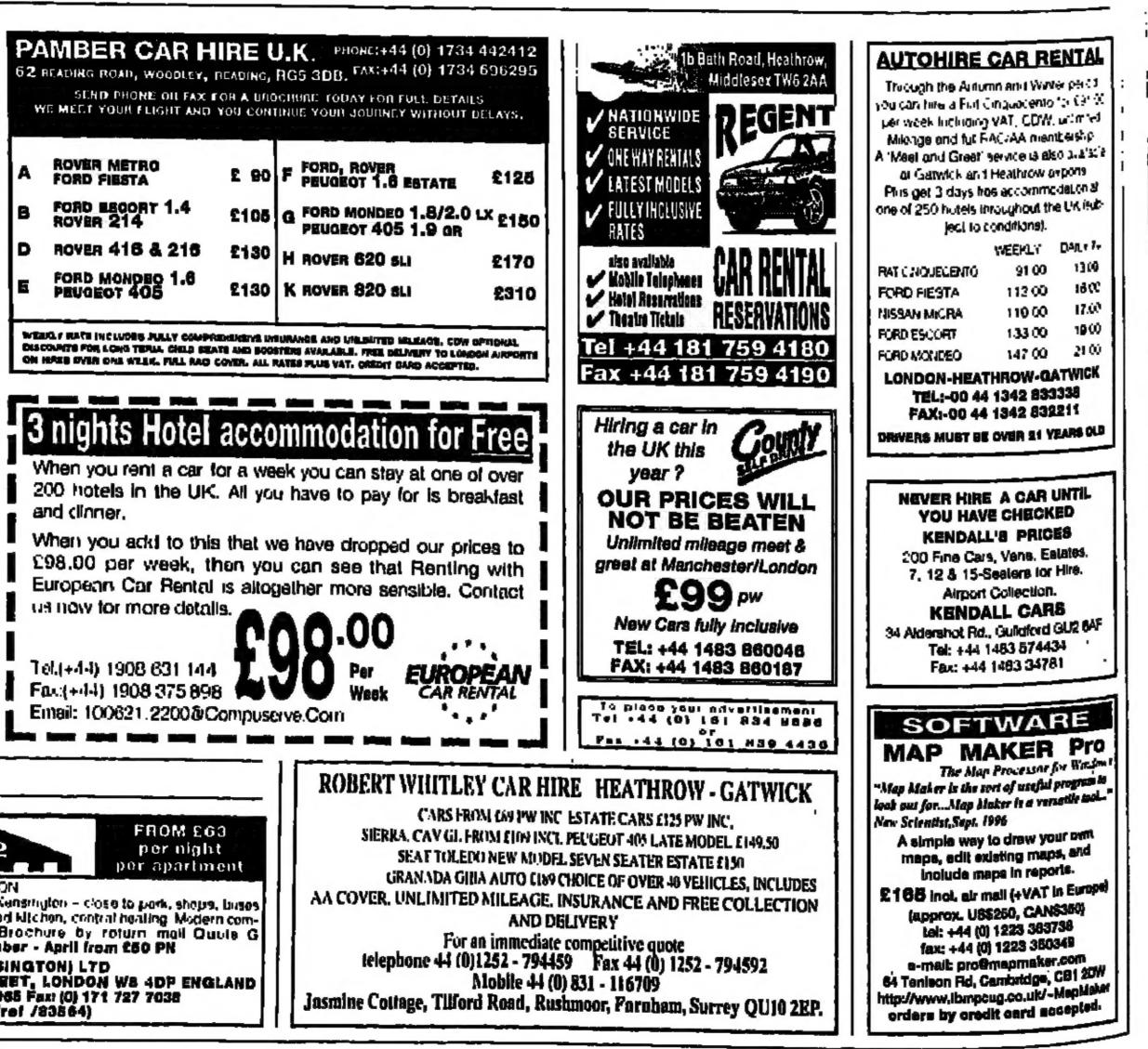
GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 19/6

ing from hyperinflation know the heart-sinking feeling of waking up and realising what you have it worth 5 per cent less than it was yesterday: savings dwindle to nothing; dreams turn to ashes. The last country in Europe to experience such freefall was Germany in the twenties. It's no wonder the Bundesbank is obsessed with keeping inflation down.

When I was in Uganda a few years ago, the local shilling had been reduced to a value of less than one-100th of a US cent. If you wanted to know how much money you had, you weighed it. On a jour-ney to the north of the country [travelled with several kilograms of Ugandan shillings to buy fuel and food: 1,000-shilling notes in bundles of 500 packed in an attaché-case. like the proceeds of a drug deal.

In northern Uganda, an area su fering severely from the privations of civil war, I found myself discussing inflation with a farmer. had heard it was like this in Germany in the twenties, I said: money was worth so little that housewives went to market with wheelbarrows full of banknotes in order to buy bread. He thought about this a bit. Then he said, "And where did they trying to buy a car, but couldn't taxi to carry the cash from the bank all day to count it.

But the euro is hard currency and the Ugandan shilling is soft, hother end, what matters is whether your





Ruaridh Nicoli in Botswana finds the 'great oasis' of the Okavango is in peril of drying up to satisfy human needs

USHING gently at the stream's saudy floor, Worm thick reeds that border the banks of Heyns, the senior Namibian water found himself facing the white the Boro. He stops to point to a dis- engineer. "To put it bluntly, we'll be population, a mish-mash of safari lant line of trees that used to mark | in the shit. the banks of a great river and then, as if to prove a point, he knocks past not least Ross, are deeply cona wrecked canoe that has become wedged across the channel's new breadth.

by an elephant, a little to the left. self lethargically with its trunk.

Downriver, the water ends in a | is dropping fast. large pool where hippos congregate. Worm treats the place with respect; he believes a huge snake | precedent. And she is not alone. For | than any other living soul. lives in its depths drinking the river dry. Around about, the land lies manding responsibility from the lazily like pottery glazing in a kiln, creatures emerging and departing on hazy, washed-out backgrounds. Overhead the Kalahari sun burns deep, claiming the once great waters of the Okavango back for itself. Quietly poling, Worm says that he has never seen the water so low; that he fears for his job.

Eighty or so kilometres to the south, Dr Karen Ross, holding her straw hat down against the grey dust wind, leaves her office. She has just seen a letter published in one of Botswana's national newspapers accusing her of spreading "the sort of Careless propaganda that may encourage green activists to take up arms, go ballistic or even ignite the water bomb waiting to explode on Botswana's northern border", Ross, head of Conservation Interna-

tional's Okavango project, is angry. from Maun's runway. It banks and heads north, ferrying tourists to the camps in the delta beyond. The greatest oasis on the planet,

the Okavango supports 164 species of mammals, 540 types of bird and enough plants, fish, insects and amphibians to employ David Attenborough for a lifetime. Larger than Wales, the delta is the shattered remains of a river which empties into the Kalahari, a river which winds through Namibia from its source in the Angolan heights.

On its way it passes a place called. Rundu where Botswana's neighbouring state of Namibia plans to

African garden of Eden on edge of disaster

quench the drought that threatens | ing north its capital city.

fallen to 10 per cent of capacity; | confrontations. The Okavango, how- | months off from his duties. Enernearly 40,000 livestock have died so | ever, is different: it is unique and de- | getic, intelligent and bitter, he sits far. The only answer, the Namibians velopment could cost the world, and say, is to build a 250km pipeline | more importantly Botswana, one of | that dot the edge of Maun's dry from the Okavango river. "If we lits greatest natural assets, don't build the pipeline and the eases his canoe through the rains fail again . . " says Peter | Maun to pacify the residents, Heyns |

Many of the residents of Maun. selves are suffering badly from the lack of water. For the first time in he had no choice but to go ahead. The sweltering silence is broken | memory the river did not reach the town during the annual flood. Much which rips at branches, feeding it- of the town's water is drawn from boreholes, but now the water table

unimaginative but also a dangerous the white population of the area, de-Namibians is a matter of saving the delta. For the black communities, it means saving themselves.

Kehemetswe Saozo sits on animal skin chair in the shade of his rondavel in Ditshipi, a village in the heart of the delta itself. His clothes are stone-washed by the abrasive Kalahari sands and his face looks weary. "If the water dries up it will tell them, 'OK, you can live there, be the end of our lives," he says quietly. "All the things of our lives are solely dependent on it."

The Okavango problem is a precursor of things to come. As peace | says Smith. "In the past we have comes to the whole southern African region and development | don't realise those days have gone." booms, rivers are being used to In Maun that view is not accepttheir maximum. South Africa Itself | able. The whites, many of whom expects to run out of fresh water in | have spent more than a decade the first quarter of the next century | building up businesses, know they

When the Namibian team flew to operators, houters and frontier l water and that, given the situation.

He pointed out that it is war-torn Angola that the people of the delta needed to worry about. There was one man notably absent from the meeting: Peter Smith, the author of Ross sees the pipeline as not only the letter to Ross. Smith knows more about the water of the delta

> ITTING on his porch, set in a 12-acre plot on the edge of U the dry bed of yet another offshoot of the Okavango river, he explains why he agrees with Heyns. "Angola is still in a very poor state, but this is where the greatest threat becomes peaceful, people will start settling beside the river. You can't but don't drink any water'."

Both Smith and Heyns make pessimistic noises about the delta's future. "The delta's going to shrink," never had it so good, but people



draw off water in an effort to | and its engineers are already look- | can still move off if all goes wrong, but local people have no such op-The various governments are tion. Tawana Morenii, the young Windhoek's reservoirs have signing deals to avoid the inevitable head chief of the delta, is taking six drinking in one of the safari camps river. "I don't like this pipeline verv much," he says, morose from alcohol, "We should buy more planes and bomb it."

Botswana has no history of violence towards its neighbours but flotsam. He argued that the Namib- confrontation between Namibia and been scotched, most think by a plea for the money to pour in. from Namibia. "There has been the buy tanks to shoot at the Namibians because they want to steal water from the Okavango." said Heyns. "That is nonsense: the two things are not connected."

"We were told in June that Namibia had a serious drought problem," said Momemi Sekwale, leader of Botswana's delegation to Okacom, a commission set up by Namibia, Botswana and Angola to ensure prudent use of the river. If Sekwale is angry that Namibia has superseded Okacom, he does not to the delta lies. Once the country | show it "The position of Botswana is that we cannot oppose a feasibility study; under the circumstances we can only ask to be kept informed."

But that does not go so far as to effects might prove disastrous, it park's bills. ditched the plan. It may not view others' irresponsibility charitably.

That people are paranoid about the delta is hardly surprising. Beyond the staggering array of wildlife is a place filled with a diversity of meal" is a common motto.

Ross points out the work her organisation carries out in its area, arguing that she has to get involved in politics. "If we don't fight policy decisions that could kill the delta then all this is worth nothing." she says pointing to her organisa-

tion's achievements. The deita itself is robust enough to being turned off. If that happens, then a garden of Eden returns to Kalahari dust. -- The Observer

big bucks Liz McGregor - O PARAPHRASE Mao, mone flows from the barrel of a gur in the new South Africa, vast tracts of land are being created for foreign sportsmen happy to cough up thou sands of dollars to sleep in a rough

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reed hut and wash in a stream, provided they can go home with a trophy to stick up on the wall. It's all down to economics. Although foreign tourists are pouring in at the rate of a million a year, not all of them are content to shoot wildlife with a camera. There is, as

South African farmers are finding out, big money in hunting as well. About 9 per cent of land in South Africa is now given over to wildlife Roughly half of that is state parks: the rest is private land, much of it used for hunting and game ranching --- the breeding of wild animals

for the hunter's bullet. There are passionate arguments both for and against this, but in Africa, harshest of continents, it is the most pragmatic that prevails. In a country that can barely afford to feed its human population, wildlife has to pay its way.

Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA), a private game consortium into which Hambros Bank and the Getty kunily have pumped millions of pounds, dominates the market. It bought a string of failing cattle farms in KwaZulu, built glassed-in ian pipeline would extract only a Botswana is an idea often raised. tree houses in the only remaining cerned by this plan. They them- small percentage of the Okavango's Botswana recently tried to buy indigenous forest, restocked the tanks from Europe but the deal has place with wild animals and waited

There were setbacks: a lion dined suggestion that Botswana wants to on a guest who had slipped away from the dinner table to fetch her jumper, and civil war broke out between Inkatha and the ANC.

Phinda, as the park is called, is surrounded by hunting and gameranching farms. The general manager, Les Carlisle, defends hunting. 'Take rhinos, they're slow breeders and produce only once every four years. If I have an old male, past his prime, with his ribs showing, either I let hun die in the veld or l let some German shoot him for \$30,000 and) can buy three more at R50.000 each.

Harold Braak, who grew up in the Kruger National Park and is now the chief warden in Skukoza Camp. agrees that hunting and game ranching create more space and ensure a greater diversity in the allow the pipeline to be built. In | animal gene pool. He does not allow recent years the Botswana govern- hunting in the Kruger, but other ment wanted to dredge an area of state parks fence off areas for trothe delta but, realising that the phy hunting - it helps to pay the

A white rhino hunt is no gladiatorial contest between man and beast. "It's like shooting a cow," said one hunter. "They're very short-sighted and can't see you coming; if you stay out of the direction of the wind, they strange people living cheek-by-jowl | can't smell you either. One shot with a world that occasionally through the ear and it's over." For devours them - "Don't become a this, the client would part with \$30,000.

There are about 400 professional hunters in South Africa. Each year. tempt to bring prosperity to the they hire their services to some 4,000 foreign and 50,000 local hunters.

But it was in the Great Rift Valley that man's ancestors first stood up four million years ago, There is a theory that deep in our unconscious lies a memory of this period when survive anything - except the water we lived among wild animals in paradise. That is why wildernesses must be maintained — not just for animals, but for humans as well.

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Always a step ahead of his business rivals, Rupert Murdoch seems to have stolen one of the biggest marches yet in the form of digital broadcasting. Henry Porter wonders if anybody realises the enormous power it puts in the hands of one man

Keeper of the global gate

he appears to his executives in their | mation into sound and pictures. dreams. It's a pity that politicians have not shared his experience of being woken in the night by the vision of Rupert. If they had, they might begin to dwell on how thoroughly his personality has penetrated Britain's affairs; and they would almost certainly scrutinise company an unparalleled advantage in national broadcasting.

and if you talk to politicians, broadcasters, government departments and the regulatory bodies charged umph for Murdoch.

what is an essential and remarkably broadcasters. ill-guarded part of British culture.

sion requires concentration but it shouldn't mesmerise quite the num-Murdoch's advantage was all but set ers an equal share in the digital age.

Here, they insist, Mr Murdoch will have to behave, although there respected a British institution or global now, and national governpede his enormous ambitions.

and how Murdoch's empire is about to move several gear changes, you broadcasting is the transmission of 1 stance, BSkyB to broadcast up to 150 channels simultaneously.

greatly to the quality of the picture and terrestrial delivery digital sys- from one of the big financial groups, acts and systems shall have the and allows the viewer to watch a terms in which Murdoch has a head "that he has contacted both main duty that this is done in fair, reasonwide-screen IV that can also take a start. But it is not nearly as simple parties . . . runours of him having able and non-discriminatory terms," what we intend to do elsewhere a sidebar of different programmes. as that because the BBC and the lunch with Michael Heseltine and What this says is that Murdoch's the world - that is, use sports as a So, while watching the football, you | biggest ITV company — Granada — | also talking to other side." may also keep an eye on the news | have signed up to be among the 150 or another match — all of which services offered on Murdoch's makes it the perfect advance for the | satellite. Age of Distraction.

The more important point is that a digital broadcast does not have to | BBC off his Star satellite in Asia be- | Blair: "The dinner went very well. | cause only a few have anticipated

N FULL DISCLOSURE, Andrew | go through a satellite. It may be re-Neil's telling account of his life | ceived by a conventional aerial and as a Murdoch editor, he reveals | TV set, provided the viewer has a that Rupert Murdoch's presence is | device known as a set-top box to so strong in News International that | convert the stream of digital infor-This is where Murdoch comes in

and where everyone gets confused. BSkyB has announced that it will launch a digital service next year and for this a special set-top box will be designed and marketed. Murdoch's box will be tailored to do two things: decompress the stream of the strategy that is about to give his | digital information and then decode it. After all this is a subscription service and, like the present signal But the deed is practically done | from Sky, will be broadcast in code so that only those who have paid

will be able to watch. Parallel to Murdoch's activity are with overseeing the introduction of the plans by Britain's established digital broadcasting by BSkyB in a | broadcasters - the BBC channels, year's time, you find a mixture of | ITV stations and Channel 4 — to detrust, ignorance and defeatism that | velop digital broadcasting. Rememcan only result in commercial tri- ber, the digital signal may be conventionally transmitted from a People seem simply not to grasp | terrestrial station and all that is the implications of digital broadcast- needed by the viewer is a set-top cause it was offending the Chinese Blair discovered Rupert was not the the way things will develop. BTs ining and the speed with which Mur- box. The trouble is that Murdoch doch is moving to introduce it by has already put out tenders for the But now, in a display of corporate indicated that media ownership do with the huge amount of tele satellite. They don't see how much | design and manufacture of his own | forgiveness or forgetfulness, the | rules would not be onerous under | phone traffic that digital broadcastpower will accrue to this foreign | box. It will be on the market well be- BBC plans to entrust all its services | Labour, Rupert that his newspapers | ing is expected to generate from national, nor even the danger his fore any equivalent device can be to him, without guarantees that they would not be wedded to the Tories." | people interacting with their TVs. company, News Corp, represents to agreed upon by the terrestrial will not be buried on the pro-

True, the subject of digital televihighly unlikely that the lite, there is a considerably reduced ber of officials that it does. Often | British market will accept two sepa- | incentive for them to establish a ter- | TV. The same is true of the Conserwhen I ventured to one of them that | rate boxes for the satellite and ter- | restrial service which competes | vative party, which is persuaded by | trial broadcasters have done to restrial digital services. As Michael in stone, they would hurriedly put | Starks, head of the BBC digital prothe phone down to consult their col- ject said in May: "It's no good us the Corporation is co-operating with satellite TV and is due an initial pe- of Murdoch's service. leagues and then call back to apply getting our signals to every house- Murdoch by adding to the value of riod of protected growth. With an The box is important but in some balm to the issue, saying that there | hold unless we can be reliably re- | his service, yet on the other it is- | election imminent, it would be crazy | ways it is a distraction, and it seems would be controls and regulations | ceived on the householder's | sues a statement - from a pam- for either main party to take on | certain that Murdoch has realised to give all the established broadcast- consumer equipment. And most phlet called A Glorious Future | Murdoch now, but this is not a mea- this. What matters to him is launchhouseholders will buy one receiver (August 23) - like this: "The first | sure of their cowardice, rather of | ing first with a range of appealing l iboxl."

is scant evidence of his ever having that their manufacture is costly and son or group should be able to someone who doesn't even have the all well and good. But the main sales requires guaranteed orders. While abuse control of the set-ton box to vote in Britain. any of its regulations. Murdoch is | Murdoch has the commercial drive | inhibit competition. If the digital age to back the manufacture of his box is to fulfil its true potential we need ment. Labour's National Heritage sponsible for Sky's success in ments are only interesting to him in with orders, the terrestrial broad- in the UK a unified regulatory spokesman, Jack Cunningham, said Britain. Conveniently for Murdoch. as much as they may help or im- casters don't. They are waiting pas- framework to ensure open and non- this: "We raised the issue of com- they also happen to be the two areas sively to see what his box looks like discriminatory access to providers mon standards for digital television of broadcasting which benefit most To understand what is at stake and whether it can be adapted to on fair financial terms." take terrestrial digital signals.

Murdoch naturally got the point BBC has understood that no one in latory matters should have been inmust grasp the technical advances of all this long before anyone else. government or its agencies has cluded in the Bill and not left to seem to fall so well for him. But in television. In a nutshell, digital In effect he has set up what is taken the slightest notice. The secondary legislation. Virginia Bot- there again Murdoch has the ge known in the trade as the "gateway" Broadcasting Bill which was en- tomley deliberately prevented this nius and aggression to think high-quality TV along frequencies to digital services. For a period his acted in the summer failed to intro- from being done," previously not powerful enough to gateway will be the sole means of duce measures to control be used for TV. Because the signal access to the new TV technology. Murdoch's operation of the gatebe used for TV. Because the signal access to the new TV technology. It may access to the new TV technology. Murdoch's operation of the gate-travels in bites of information rather the BBC and ITV companies that they the Office of Fair Trading was the form of a statutory instrube compressed during transmission must dance to his tune, although apparently reassured by BSkyB, ment, which has been drafted by was bringing in far more viewers, and then decompressed when it they continue to insist vehemently which said that it would not act the Department of Trade and Indus- which explains why he is now fightreaches a TV set. Vast amounts of | that the development of the alterna- | unfairly, information may therefore be cared live terrestrial service will go ahead ried and this will enable, for in- [and that arrangements will be made to manufacture their own device.

A digital broadcast also adds simple race between the satellite been rumours", said a media analyst rights to conditional access prod- "We have the long-terms rights in

ment. After all, Murdoch threw the a meeting between Murdoch and aspect of the digital revolution, be- our TV sets. That is the only thing



government with its news coverage. | ogre his party had painted ... Blair | terest in Murdoch's set-top box is to | gramme guide, or placed in an ob- 1 to be accommodating on the owner- 1 able to summon videos and putscure part of the digital spectrum.

tage he has seized. For it is and Granada go on the BSkyB satelwith Murdoch.

Certainly he has talked to casters.

Labour's leader, Tony Blair, on Oftel may also like to look at Sport is what will make Murdoch broader aspects of his media inter- British Telecom's relationship with the de facto gatekeeper, irrespective This is an extraordinary develop ests. Andrew Neil recalls in his book Murdoch. This is a widely ignored of what boxes are sitting on top of

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ship of newspapers by a foreign na- chase things we see on TV. Our or-More important is that if BBC | tional, there is no reason why he | ders in response to the digital signal would object to the advantages Mur- | coming into the house will be made doch is taking for himself in digital along a telephone line. the argument that Murdoch has such deal, which means this BT It's all very odd: on the one hand taken huge risks in the launch of facility will add greatly to the value danger is the dominance of the Mr Murdoch's power, which we programmes. If the BBC and The point about these boxes is | Gateway into the home. No one per- | should remind ourselves is held by | Granada want to add to his portfolio.

> throughout the Broadcasting Bill. It from widescreen TV - that is to say Laudable stuff, but plainly the was our strong view that these regu- digital broadcasting.

try and will be enforced by Oftel, ing so hard to to win sporting rights One has the impression of the cs- the regulatory body for television. It all over the world. tablishment discreetly waving Mur- reads: "When granting licences to doch through. It is an impression manufacturers of consumer equip- ing in Adelaide earlier this year. So it would seem that you have a shared in the City. "There have ment, holders of industrial property box must not exclude other broad- battering rom and a lead offering in

If the Labour leader is prepared | Within five years or so we will he

At present the established terres-

drive will be made by sporting There are some worries in Parlia- rights and movies, which were re-

It is remarkable how the cards through likely developments, then act on his conclusions. He is also

At the News Corp's annual meet-Murdoch made his strategy plain. most countries to major sporting events and we will be doing in Ast all our pay television operations."

continued on page 1.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1996



Sarah Boseley meets the women pitting their brains against Britain's cleverest crooks

NGST-RIDDEN and bat- | ling in The Silence Of The Lamba. tered, a maverick voice among the conventional de- real life being used to target what tectives, television's police psycho- the police call volume crime, Burlogist Fitz in Cracker is an anti-hero as remote as Jupiter from the real biggest problem any police force thing — which in Cleveland, since has to deal with. "When burglary is October, has been a young woman high, all other crimes are high as named Joanne Cholerton. Aged 25, | well. These people are prolific fresh out of university, sporty and thieves. It is like you and me going full of enthusiasm, Cholerton has out to work every day - they just none of the taint of criminality and go out and commit crime." vice, half-drowned in whisky and cigarette smoke, that infects the bard-core criminals of Hartlenool characters of every TV police | Four detectives have been specially drama. Yet for all that, there is a pio- trained to visit every house that is neering toughness about her. How | burgled and return with a 33-page many young women would have the pro forma that will give the psychogall to walk into a police station and | logist far more information than the tell a bunch of seasoned detectives that there are better ways of doing | know what he did and did not do; their job?

"I'm usually the only woman in the room and most of them have more experience than I have years. | nise the behaviour of certain bur-It took a few weeks for me to fit in," glars and even to tell detectives Cholerton says with a grin. There | more or less where they might live. have been, she admits, some scep- She can narrow the list of suspects tics, but she is in no way abashed at 1 to a few - perhaps even one - who the situation she is in: a lone young | has committed such crimes before civilian in an institution notorious | and may be known to the police. for its treatment of women; a psychologist hired on an untested pro- know what is going on and probably ject, full of theory about the have a good idea who is committing workings of the criminal mind but the crimes, but when it comes down with next to no acquaintance with 1 to it. they are usually wrong." your actual unwashed villain.

had somebody in for burglary the | tematically to target these people." other day. I said: 'Question him about these four as well' and got the information together for the detectives. They ended up charging him with all five." Her face lights up.

new ground by appointing her to spend a year profiling the burglars of Hartlepool, an industrial town bordering the North Sea. Psychologists, like her tutor at Liverpool uni- parisons between fictional psycholo- when you talk to police officers how have been called in on serious indi- | says, is based on wrong premises. | early on about who they are looking | them and it is very brave of them to | women - and for the crime rate.



Continued from page 16 menu of programmes, there isn't really very much legislators can do --particularly at this moment in the electoral cycle.

tain his power in Britain. Indeed, he of distribution, not supply, that call has discovered all over the world the shots. Viacom's chairman, Sumthat national governments will drop ner Redstone, who had been forced short-term political advantage.

He is adept at local fire-fighting on to BSkyB, said earlier this year. and with an empire that now "Rupert wants to rule the world and liberal democracy or to the indepenstretches from Australia through he seems to be doing it." Murdoch's expansion is vertigi- have only to read Andrew Neil's | tricks for him at his conferences. Asia to Europe and America, he must expect the odd local difficulty. nous, As if overseeing the digital book. Neil, once a close colleague of They fuss about the loss of national But the main point is that News project in Britain isn't enough, next Murdoch's, who moved the Sunday sovereignty to the European Union, Corp has arrived at an extraordinar- year Murdoch will launch ASkyB - Times to Wapping and helped to yet never for one moment note the questions about the independence American Sky Broadcasting - | bail out Sky TV in its early stages, | concessions that have been made in ily significant moment in its development. The five years since which will offer some 200 channels was immediately sidelined when his Britain's national affairs to this sar- his newspapers, his trading prac-Murdoch's desperate global pilgrim- to the vast US market. He has also newspaper's coverage began to donic global operator. age to re-finance his company have done deals with national telecom threaten Murdoch's TV interests in produced technical breakthroughs companies such as MCI in the US southeast Asia. Murdoch has loyalty selves on the pragmatic view that sporting calendar. which even he had never and BT in Britain to launch Internet only to his ambition and his chil- Murdoch is a fact of British political dreamed. Today his is one of the service companies. His on-line ven- dren, who are being groomed in var- life. But if they were to regard him wave feeble statutory instruments few world companies with the appa- ture with BT, Springboard, will be ious quarters of his empire to take not as a means to victory in an elec- and hope that Rupert Murdoch will ratus and the central command to used, among other things, to pub- over. For someone so wholly op- tion but rather as one of the more behave. Dream on.

Criminals beware

vidual cases before, such as the Yorkshire Ripper and Rachel Nickell murder inquiries; they have also been popularised (and glamorised) by such screen characters as Robbie Coltrane's Fitz in Cracker and Jodie Foster's Agent Clarice Star-

Now, for the first time, they are in glary, Cholerton will tell you, is the

Her job, then, is to study the average crime report. She needs to what he took and what he left.

Matching features of these crimes, Cholerton is able to recog-

"The very experienced detectives Cholerton says matter-of-factly. Yet Cholerton has already con- | "Rather than using their experience founded some of the doubters. "We and intuition, we are looking sys-

Liverpool university's investigative Britain that trains graduates specifi- | leaving fingerprints or releasing a | likely to be a local youngster." cally for such police work. It has victim who can identify them. They Cleveland police have broken | been running for only four years, yet half a dozen police forces in Britain, and others overseas, have claims many detectives are themtaken its students.



Joanne Cholerton: 'I take a lot of flak'

are not these brilliant minds."

Most extraordinarily of all, he selves taken in by fictions that are Canter is indignant at the com- stranger than life. "It is fascinating

> | lish a programme guide for BSkyB's | posed to the inherited power of the | important electoral issues. Britain satellite digital service.

The whole structure of News | markably dynastic tendencies. He said last July: "When you are | cian or businessman stands in the dolph Hearst were alive again.

The tone of menace his newspapers employ is precisely what

PHOTO STUARLOUTERSIDE

She is one of a new breed from avoid police detection. But if you do idea that it will be a dirty old man in a study of how they get caught, it is a mac hanging around the school psychology unit - the only place in often through silly mistakes like gates is very strong, but it is more

Now his students, Canter clairns, "are ratiling the police chains . . . what they do."

you need to understand about the by the immediate opportunity that the components support each other Conservative party came to power launch of digital TV by Sky. Now may be gained in what is the brief throughout the world. It's not sim- and slightly less since Murdoch that he has his head start and a aperture between invention and ply in terms of revenue and services bought Times Newspapers and The Conservatives have been Murdoch. This has allowed him to challenges the three main entertain- | ter of the world? ment corporations of Time Warner, If anyone doubts his antipathy to ridiculous parish of chatterers.

The reaction of British politicians

Politicians congratulate them-

Keeper of the global gate

general application.

clined to dictate." The Americans are his newspapers in four continents Murdoch has sensed that there beginning to get the picture that in may be swiftly deployed to remove panies to Murdoch in order to get it clans.

be the first to implement it." But it is she who stands to get the rough ride. "I do have to stand up and take a lot of flak," she admits. "But I look for challenges."

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Karyn McClusky joined another innovative force, East Sussex, last year from Canter's course. She says she has encountered no resistance from police officers. "I have had every bit of help from Sussex. I'm very impressed with them. I expected a lot of reticence. I got

She is aged 31, teaches boxing as hobby, has a degree in nursing, worked in the prison service and was once manager of a company -all of which must help command some respect, together with her love of the job and, she points out, the fact that her efforts reduce the work of the detectives. "They may have a hundred suspects and we are saying these are the three to look at first."

At the scene of the crime, she will be looking at the way the offender got into the property: "But how they possess the house when they are in there is much more indicative. gives you an idea of the criminal history — if they have been in prison or not, for instance. They become much more forensically aware once they have been in prison. Then there are things like artifice - conning their way into people's houses or using children."

Sarah Wardle, a Canter student in the area intelligence unit at the Metropolitan Police, will be moving in January to New Scotland Yard's intelligence directorate.

"When we first arrived, it was a very new thing and it has taken quite a while for us to learn about the police force itself and to show the benefits of our work," she says. "To make a serial killer interesting, | for that don't concur with the facts | "There are policemen who may there is a tendency to make him ver- of criminological literature. In a have been initially sceptical, but it bally very sophisticated and able to child abuse case, for example, the didn't take long to prove our worth - about five or six months. We're here really as support tools --- not to take away police jobs."

These are outgoing, confident, professional women who are breaking new ground and loving it. If the making them reconsider a lot of work they are doing is having anything like the impact Canter claims, The potential for mutual unhappi- then there is a small but very posiness is enormous. Cholerton recog- tive revolution going on in some of nises this in her praise for Britain's more go-ahead police versity, Professor David Canter, gists and the real ones. All of it, he they will be making assumptions Cleveland. "It is a huge initiative for forces. It can only be good news for

royal family, he is displaying re- might begin to claw back some of its independence. There are, after all. apply them quickly. He is absorbed | Corp interlocks beautifully, so that | It is nearly 18 years since the many ways that Murdoch's presence in Britain can be addressed There is the question of his paying UK tax. In 1995, for instance, he but also in propaganda. If a politi- began his remarkable expansion. paid not one penny of the 35 per cent corporation tax. Is there any the monopoly distributor you are in- way of Murdoch's advance, any of benevolent in the extreme to Rupert reason why he should not be pressed to reveal exactly the netuse Britain as a cash cow and a work of offshore companies which simply isn't the political will to con- the age of information it is the means the obstacle. It is as if William Ran- launch-pad to America, where he claim tax advantages in every quar-

And what of his growing spread Disney and Viacom. He is now a | in the British media? At present he their objections to his plans for to sell an interest in one of his com- scares the pants off British politi- world power and as far as he is con- has more than 30 per cent of the cerned Britain is little more than a newspaper market and with the built-in advantages of launching satellite digital broadcasting early dence of his newspaper editors they | is to receive him for lunch and to do | he is likely to achieve a 25 per cent penetration of that market. Perhaps it is time to haul Murdoch in front of parliamentary committees to face of his editors, the persistent bias of tices and the total disregard for British television culture and the

通行内に

But all the Government does is

18 FEATURES

Letter from Bermuda Elizabeth Jones

To the glory of blinkered belief

OVEMBER 17, 1996, Bermuda's Cobb'a Hill V Methodist Church held its anniversary service exactly 169 Wesleyan missionary to years after it was completed and dedicated.

The building itself is simply constructed with grey-painted walls, green wooden shutters, a white-ridged roof and a rather squat stone spire left unpainted as is customary in Bermuda. But the sign affixed to the gateway gives the clue to the power ful story of the church's history It says: "Dedicated to the Glory of God. Built by Staves in the Moonlight."

Slaves in Bermuda were often forbidden from attending church | church. He was later to become with the result that they resorted | an ordained minister.

to listening and worshipping outside. In 1800, the Reverend John Stephenson, the first regularly preach in Bermuda, was fined £50 and imprisoned for six months because he had committed the "crime" of preaching to slaves and to "free men of colour". He was defended, albeit unsuccessfully, by John Christie Esten, a lawyer, who later became Bermuda's chief justice.

In 1818 a young evangelist, Edward Fraser, came to Bermuda from Barbados and preached to the slaves encourage ing them to build their own

What is remarkable is that Fraser was himself a slave. His missionary work attracted the notice of Esten, who in 1825 sold to the slaves a plot of land for 10 shillings so that their dream of a church could become reality. Under Fraser's supervision, they toiled mostly through moonlit nights and during the odd holiday. They cut the stone from nearby quarries, and women and children helped by carrying the stone blocks on their heads, shoulders and backs. There was no moon the night of this year's anniversary, but in spite of the blustery weather the simple wooden pews were packed. As I listened to the gospel hymns, "Consider my

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

W HICH countries do not have any McDonald's?

and camel burgers have yet to be in- Nations. Tashkent, Uzbekistan vented; and Mongolian meat simply lastes too good. However, we can THERE is no McDonald's in just see the McGoat baked in its own skin over red-hot stones taking off if Hughes, Ulaanhaatar, Mongolia

DERMUDA has no McDonald's. worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan. Some Alyson Hilbourne, OSC, Sri Lanka 20 years ago, Kentucky Fried Chicken sueaked into Bermuda. Horrified defenders of the "British" | / V Thorkey image banned further franchises. In the late eighties, McDonald's opened on the US base, and the US Navy de AN ventriloguists "throw" cided to allow Bermudians access U their voices? If genuine, how unce a week to sample the wares. The base was closed in 1995, and with it went McDonald's.

A few months later, the premier outrage.

A former deputy premier then of "rebel" MPs. The Senate defeated | directions. By noting the frequency the bill, so it then had to go back to envelope of a sound in each ear, and for how much longer? - Sur | above or below ear level. Simons, Bermuda

U of date (December 1), India's frequency envelope of a voice comticst McDonald's opened in Delhi in | ing from a direction other than the | less than £5 (which included cloth-October, It is the world's first beef - real one. Of course, a ventriloquist free McDonald's. I had a Maharaja | who is a performer is just as likely | courts if they could find a lawyer Mac. mode with lamb, - Nick to use stage-magic techniques, such willing to undertake their case and

CEYCHELLES, on the Indian J complex voice control. - Richard | The plaintiff would be expected to O Ocean, does not have a McDon- Hussong, Jeton, Massachusetts, USA | pay any expenses such as witnesses' ald's. However, fortunately for reforming expatriates. Gatwick air- 1 IN CENTRILOQUISM, what is more than E5, there would also be port does. - A J Tracey, Victoria, 1 "thrown" is not the ventriloquist's | court costs of at least £4. Sewhelles

ZBEKISTAN has Korean U burgers, Turkish burgers and downright Inedible burgers but as AONGOLIA has no McDonald's. | yet no McDonald's. And I don't Wi There are several possible rea- believe that the company has sons: Big Macs don't contain nearly branched out into Kazakhstan. enough grease and are too tender for Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan or Tajik-Mongolian taste; mutton, goat, yak | istan either. - Emma Webb, United

/ Ecuador but there have been advertisements recently seeking only McDonald's had the initiative. investors with \$1.5 million to start a - David Hollingworth and Elizabeth | franchise. - Ken MacHarg. Quito. Echador

THERE is no McDonald's in Sri **D** However, therein lies a story | I | Lanka — is this paradise? —

A HRVANA - Ken Frank, Izmir,

is the phenomenon achieved?

THE HUMAN ear has two basic | an illusion created by the ventrilo-I methods of locating the source of 13 years resigned (following the of a sound, The first involves the dif- is allegedly talking, the ventriloquist defeat of his independence referen- ference in the time of arrival of the dum) and within weeks it was leading edge of a sound at the two lips or jaw, and holds the mouth announced that he had been given | ears. The sound is presumed to be | slightly open so that sound escapes | permission to set up a company to nearer the car that hears it first. yet movements are not readily visioperate McDonald's. There was | There is nothing a ventriloquist can | ble. Humans are easily fooled when | do to subvert this mechanism.

The other method is based on the | The listener connects the talking brought a bill to parliament banning shape of the pinna, the external ' all fast-food franchises including, fleshy protuberance often referred retroactively. McDonald's. This | to as the "ear". It is asymmetrical, | the voice: a sock puppet will do; so passed the House with the assis- and has very different frequencytance of the opposition and a group | response characteristics in different the House. In late November the bill comparing that with an internal came up for discussion. As the spon- "ideal" version of the sound, the lis- Court for the poor which sor was not in the House the tener can work out whether the charged no fees and gave free Speaker threw out the bill. And so | sound came from the left or right, | legal aid. Is this court still in ex-Bermuda has no McDonald's, but front or back, and whether from

By carefully shaping the frequen-Whitehead, Genera, Switzerland as misolirection and sheer show to issue a certificate to that effect. manship, as he is to use difficult and [] The certificate cost one mark (30p).

voice, but the listener's perception.

quist. While the dummy or puppet visual and auditory signals conflict. with any mouth-like object whose movements are coordinated with will a more elaborate dummy. - Ian MacKay, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

ING Henry VII set up a istence; if not, when was it abolished, and can it be resurrected?

cies produced by the voice, a ventril- [___IENRY_VII introduced the in Peter J Mallett, Kobe, Japan IAMIE FERGUSON is a little out | oquist can, in principle, mimic the | I forma pauperis procedure in 1495. This allowed plaintiffs worth ing) to bring their case to the higher travel costs. If the plaintiff won The 1495 Act was replaced in 1883 | second VPS signal switches the | now available, price £8.99

0 0 Page. EN Sec.

GUARDIAN WEEKI December 29 1998

Soul" and "The Storm is Passing Over". I felt comforted that faith and determination can transcend even the worst of sociological and political evils. Today, many Bermudians are descendants of the first black leaders and members of Cobb's Hill Church. Indeed, after the next election one descendant, Jennifer Smith, may well become the first woman premier.

And yet, in the middle of the service, I felt disquiet. One speaker explained the history and mentioned that the church had recently chosen to break its association with the United Church of Canada. When the guest preacher gave his sermon the reason became abundantly clear. The church, he said, must resist "demons" that threaten i - those demons are "homosexuals and lesbians who cannot be fruitful because they cannot multiply".



Here, there but not quite everywhere . . . McDonald's has reached Tiananmen Square but not Mongolia or Bermuda PHOTO, MILE LING

The listener identifies the wrong | by the Statute Law Revision and Civil physical source of the voice through | Procedure Act. At this time, the pro- nipeg) was Lord Selkirk's contribucedure was extended to admit defen- tion to the Scottish migration to dants; the limit was raised from £5 to | Canada, I suspect that Gary is an £25, and both the value of the appliarticulates speech without moving cant's clothing and the subject of the ancient origin- Keith Bricknell, dispute were disregarded; and an ad- Winnipeg, Canada ditional test excluded applicants with an income of more than £1.50 per week. It still remained difficult to find a willing solicitor until the current Legal Aid scheme was set up in 1950. - Stephen Humphreys, Fulwood, Preston

LOW many people has the mobile phone already killed on the road?

A RECENT report by the Japan-A ese National Police Agency says do I demonstrate it without that mobile phones caused 537 traf- endangering my life? - Susan fic accidents in Japan between July Eisen, Newcastle upon Tyne and September this year, resulting in five deaths and 754 injuries. -

A REVCRS available that A skip the adverts?

TELEVISION stations in Switzer-I kind, Germany and Austria transmit a VPS signal for each Answers should be e-mailed to programme. This ensures that the weekiv@guardian.co.uk, faxed lo VCR only records the desired pro- 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted gramme irrespective of whether it to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring starts too carly or later than sched- don Road, London EC1M 3HQ. uled. At the end of the recording a The Best Ever Notes & Queries is

The United Church of Canada will accept homosexuals as ministers but Cobb's Hill will not. And # the preacher is to he believed. It will not welcome them as members of the congregation either.

I should not be surprised. Until 1994, homosexuality in Bermuda was illegal. The vote to change the law caused massive controversy and an outpouring of vitriolic criticism from fundamentalists, both black and white. Laws may change fast by attitudes do not.

During the service one speaker voiced the hope that Cobb's Hill Church would make its 200th anniversary. Will it take that long before the whole church realises that the most dangerous "demon" to threaten the Christian message is the hypocrisy that gives rise to exchsion? After all, it was hypocrisy that allowed Christians to support slavery in the first place.

VCR off. The VCk stops recording when the programme has been interrupted for advertisements and continues when they end. - Norman D Parry, Zurich, Switzerland

HAVE a Japanese VCR and can con I out advertisements, but only for programmes which are broadca-"bilingually" in Japanese and English. Two signals are sent simultanously, and the viewer selects the one he wants. When the commercials arrive the signal is sent only in Japanese, so the video can recognise the change and pause until the bilingual signal begins anew. -Greville Field, Hirutsuka. Japan

WE read that the name Gary derives entirely from the popularity of movie actor Gary Cooper in the 1940s and that, previously, there were no Garys in Britain.

THE CITY of Gary (Indiana but really part of the Chicago SMSA) existed long before Gary Cooper. Fort Garry (now Win-Anglo-Scottish name of relatively

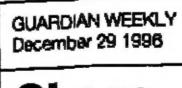
Any answers?

AN anyone cite a few idols U of this century who are still above reproach? - Bob Heys. Ripponden, Halifax

HAVE heard that if you pass / enough electricity through a pickled cucumber it will glow bright green. If this is true, how

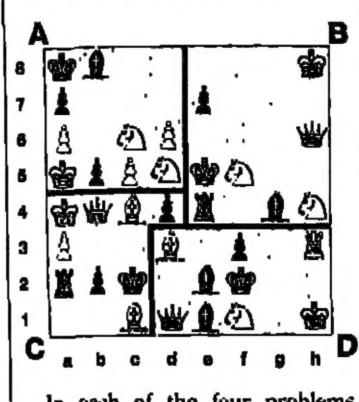
HOW can I become a gay icon? - Mavis Francis, Walton on Thames, Surrey

How does a "controlled explosion" avoid blowing up the bomb being made safe? - Peter Scocrs, Dorc, Shefficid





THE CHRISTMAS PUZZLE, vide just the outline of Black's created by Britain's best-ever | ideas, but you can explore it in composer, Comins Mansfield, was | more detail via the excellent GM first published on December 25. 1914. It's really four problems in | Counter Carnage by IM Andrew one, where the pieces may not be | Martin (screen time 75 minutes, moved outside the boundaries £14.99, available from leading shown by the black lines. Thus in B | chess suppliers). (top right) the black king at e5 counts as checkmated if it is check and the only escape is outside the black line at d6, d5 or d4.



White "checkmates" as above in two moves, against any defence. Send White's first moves for Ne5) Ne51 12 Qe3 Nd3+ 13 Kd1 Bc5 mizzles A, B, C and D to Christmas Chess, Weekend Guardian, 119 Bxd2+ 7 Qxd2 Qe7! The key A S I LOOK out from our up- fruit. Government subsidies offered Farringdon Road, London EC1R trant, right or wrong, will receive a 0-0-0 10 Be2 Rhe8 11 0-0 Bg4 and oceasional church towers - 1 growers. In 1995 alone, almost complimentary copy of the British | 12 Nc3? 12 Qxe7 is best, though | find it hard to imagine its Tudor | £11 million was paid for the removal Chess Magazine (+44-171-603 2877). Black has good play for a pawn. equivalent. For although many of of 2,500 hectares. More than half There are awards of £50, £30 and £20 for the first three correct solutions examined after the closing date, and the three winners will also each receive a London chess set Resigns. from Tournament Chess Supplies | Irina Levitina, who played for the past testament to the rural spirit (+44-170 765 9080). This new £10 set women's world championship and which once existed here and has ducing, or if the country were has pieces elegantly moulded and felted in the classical pre-1939 Staunton pattern and, unlike most first player to win gold at both plastic sets, it is produced solely in

Britain.

that you can learn while enjoying which won the bridge olympiad in ening proportions in orchards, fectly suited to apple and pear cultithe mince pies, try this gambit vari- | Rhodes. ation of the Centre Counter which has scored some fast victories in No 2452: 1 Rb1. If Kxb1 2 Kd1 b6 past 30 years. In the 1990s these

Bridge Zia Mahmood

ECEMBER U only day of there isn't a b going on somewh say probably be will get a letter Festering-undertelling me they' tournament on the past 50 year you, who may drawl symptom thing to keep y the bridge seaso ber 26.

In this year's (tion, you are ask bidding problem the calls given ence. For examp were Pasa, 1NT cided that 24 w best and INT we swer: 1. 24 2. Pas My apologies

ous, but on people who min won the competi one answer to er ing only the call Assume that y

, ber bridge at a 🕫 ner and the opp players. You arr

Chess Leonard Barden

In each of the four problems,

Video release by consulting Centre

P Romilly v A Martin, Aberdeen 1991

1 e4 d5 2 exd5 NfG 3 c4 White can also try to keep the pawn by 3 Bb5+ Nbd7 4 c4, but then a6 5 Ba4 b5! is useful: 6 cxb5 Nxd5 7 bxa6 Bxa6 8 d4 Nb4 9 Bc2 e5 10 Be4 exd4 11 Ne2 d3 12 Nd4 Bc5 13 Nc6? Nc2+ 14 Kf1 Qh4 15 Qf3 d2+ and White resigned in Wiltshire v Bryson, Glasgow 1996.

c61? The Icelandic Gambit, a bold alternative to 3 . . . c6 4 d4 (4 dxc6 Nxc6 gives Black good play) extl5 5 Ne3 which transposes to the Panov line of the Caro-Kann.

4 dxe6 Bxe6 5 d4?! The cautious 5 N(3 is better. Bb4+ 6 Bd2 Ruxton v Hsu, 1989, continued 6 Nc3 Ne4 7 Qd3 Bf5 8 Qf3 Qxd4 9 Ne2 Qd7 10 a3 Nc6l 11 Bf4 (11 axb4 and White resigned.

olympiad team, has become the development. New York six years ago and last • For a new Christmas opening | month was in the US women's team

recent years. Today's games pro- 3 Bh7. If 1 ... b62 Raa1 axb13 Bh7. | losses have even accelerated owing | be appreciated when you realise | nation's fruit trees.



Preserving core assets

Mark Cocker

Bxf3 13 Bxf3 Qb4! Gaining its older buildings still stand. Qxb2 18 Rac1 Ne2+! 19 predecessor. "Either a city in an 2020. orchard, or an orchard in a city" is a

> about 320 square kilometres of fruit trees having been destroyed in the

to European Union policies designed to halt over-production of Britain's orchards have now gone.

One could understand these defor the all-conquering Soviet been largely obliterated by modern marginal for fruit cultivation. Yet we are now only 30 per cent self-suffi-Yet Norwich's loss of fruit trees at cient in the production of apples and chess and bridge. She emigrated to least makes it representative of the pears, and annually import more wider landscape, since there has than 400,000 tonnes. Worse still, been a nationwide decline of fright- Britain, with a climate and soils pervation, has a history of fruit-growing that goes back to the Saxon era. The richness of this tradition can

ILLUSTRATION: ANN HOBDA'



that more than 6,000 types of British apple have so far been identified. At one time a single orchard might contain 200 of these, while almost every parish had its own unique va-riety. In Gloucestershire, for example, there were 100 different types of perry pear.

LEISURE 19

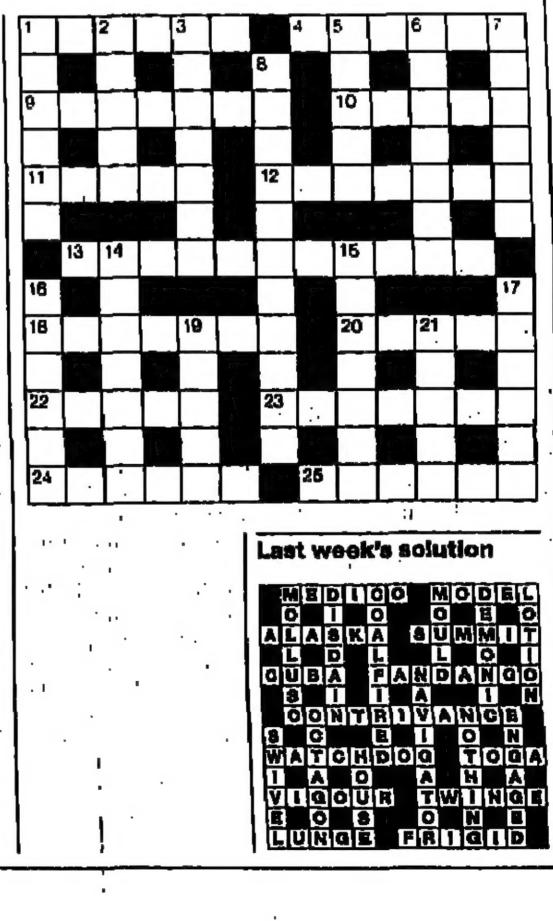
However, my favourite glimpse of Britain's lost fruit paradise concerns a single tree growing on the banks of the River Wye near Hereford. This pear had been allowed to spread so freely that its branches had eventually drooped to the ground and then re-rooted. By the late 18th century this one living tree covered almost a third of a hectare and produced 5-7 tonnes of fruit a

Fortunately, the steady decline of Britain's fruit traditions has not gone unnoticed, and a major salvage operation has been pioneered by Common Ground, The free spirits among Britain's environmental community, Common Ground has no members and creates no formal structures; rather it seeks to serve as a catalyst and to influence other organisations. Its most singular contribution has been to explore and honour local distinctiveness in the rural environment and to re-awaken public appreciation of commonplace clements.

British apples, with all their local idea which prepares long castling. A stairs window over the Nor- to those grubbing up their commer- history and associations, have been 3ER to arrive by first post on 8 Qe3 Nc6 9 Nf3 If 9 d5 Nb4 10 wich skyline - an urban jumble of cial orchards have been disproper- the focus of their efforts for several Monday, January 27, 1997. Every en- Na3 Nbxd5! gives a winning attack. domestic terraces, office blocks tionately popular among British years. The achievements to date have been impressive, and include the creation of a new national event. Apple Day on October 21, when people all over the country have the material. 14 Qg5 Nxd4 15 Bg4+ Norwich has lost the essential and at the current rates of loss they opportunity to celebrate the impor-Nxg4 16 Qxg4+ f5 17 Qxg7? character of its 16th century will have vanished completely by tance of their own local fruit produce.

The British have a lucky habit of velopments if Britain were over-pro- calising - if only, perhaps, at the eleventh hour — the value of homegrown traditions. The classic example was the impact of the Campaign for Real Ale, which in 30 years has made a contribution to improving the British public house and the nation's beer-drinking habits. Such a precedent should fortify Common Ground in its own mission to preserve the economic. cultural and aesthetic riches of the

Quick crossword no. 346



Placido Domingo is the Verdi tenor of the age, writes Martin Kettle And he hasn't stopped for a quarter of a century

E GO back a bit, Placido Domingo and me. I have always known — who could forget such a thing? --- that | heard him in his debut role at Covent Garden 25 years ago this month. But I hadn't realised until ! checked that I was actually there on the very night, December 8, 1971. when Domingo first stepped on to the stage in Bow Street and saug Cavaradossi in Tosca,

A quarter of a century ago I was just getting into opera. It was probably my first Tosca of all, I was young and thrilled. Domingo was youngish this exact age has always been a bit of a mystery) and thrilling. I sat in the gods at the opera. He became my god of the opera.

I'm afraid that Domingo also furned me into an opera nerd. I kept the programme from that first night and, the shame of it, I've kept most programmes ever since. But at least it meant that this month, when needed it, there it was, filed in the right place. December 8, 1971, The 239th Covent Garden Tosca. Gwyneth Jones in the title role. Kostas Paskalis as Scarpia, And Domingo as Cavaradossi.

I have two distinct memories of how Domingo sang that night in Franco Zeffirelli's famous production. I remember how amply his tenor soured across the orchestra in Recondita Armonia in Act One and I'll never forget his prodigiously ex- firelli's indestructible Tosca is cur- singing a role he has never per- Desdemona, conducted by Carlos Wagner's tenor parts are not aclutended cries of Vittoria in Act Two.

ere ta:

Domingo as Otello at Covent Garden in 1987

rently having its umpteenth revival. formed in London at all, and which | Kleiber. Twenty-five years on, Domingo But Domingo is no longer really a he has only rarely sung anywhere celebrated his 1971 debut with a Cavaradossi. Instead, he chose to else. And what a role. Siegmund in with Kleiber to give a series of per- yes, even enjoyed. Let us hope that single performance this month at conduct one performance of Tosca Die Walkure, Domingo's first Lon- formances, repeated in 1990, which there will be more Wagner from Covent Garden. As it happens, Zef- and to mark his anniversary by don Wagner, his first Germanic role were for me the most wonderful him in future seasons.

Dependence days

Derek Malcolm takes a sceptical look back at the movies of 1996

narcissistic star is supposed to The other huge swingers of the the new Batman), Matthew Mc- ing from an acutely physical form of first major screen role. But the huge ling and the last quarter like Cinactually looks quite pretty as the la Hollywood as Cinderella doesn't feetly my experiences as a film critic moment you left the cinema. during 1996.

a beyy of films that hit the box- peared to want. office with such a clatter that they And what of the stars? As usual, and there was Dead Man Walking, was a welcome return to form and some sort. braindead.

who admires popular films.

The most successful of all was independence Day which, at the last selves - Madonna (as a lookalike count, has raised \$306 million in Eva Peron in Evita) and Eddie Mur-America and \$391 million in the rest phy (as the fatso in the highly suc- highly watchable Nixon and Todd of the world. Why so? Well, the very cessful The Nutty Professor, after a Haynes's Safe make up the list of Danish director Lars von Trier's HAVE recently seen Barbra skilful and expensive hype con- string of failures). Newcomers to good US films. Of these, Safe - brilliant Breaking The Waves, made Streisand's The Mirror Has Two tributed. So did the fact that it was startlom included George Clooney seen by hardly anyone, but a truly in English in Scotland and starring Faces, in which our beloved if patriotic, feelgood and spectacular. (From Dusk Till Dawn and now as

spend three-quarters of a long summer were Mission: Impossible, Conaughey (A Time To Kill, Lone movie looking like an Ugly Duck- Twister, The Rock and The Nutty Star), Kate Winslet (Sense And Sen-Professor, with Eraser and the ani- sibility, Jude) and Ewan McGregor derella at the ball. The fact that she | mated Hunchback Of Notre Dame | (Trainspotting, Emma, The Pillow not far behind. Each of these films | Book). duckling and fairly awful tarted up a had production budgets of around or more than \$60 million, and none about star power, one can only find of the kind of significant European the fact that it is still far too difficult alter the fact that The Mirror Has of them could possibly be said to be a very few even near top-quality Two Faces expresses almost per- in any way memorable from the American films. And, of these,

No, it was not a good year for wood product. There was Martin Three-quarters of the time it was quality in Hollywood, though you Scorsese's Casiao, which proved Spanish talents, to hold up the flag ures, you'll find that the six most a bit like purgatory. One quarter of could certainly say that the City of that Sharon Stone could perform as of non-English-speaking European popular Hollywood movies took the time it was, if not heaven, at Dreams managed, most of the time, well as look sexy; there was Michael films here. Rohmer's A Summer's well over 50 per cent of the money. least better than going to the office to bask in the glory of one movie or Mann's impressive Heat, which Tale and Sautet's Nelly And Mon- Not a good sign. When Indepenevery day. It was, in fact, a weird another that gave world audiences, gave De Niro and Pacino a chance sieur Arnaud were class efforts dence Day gets 450 prints in Britain year in which Hollywood produced if not critics, exactly what they ap- to act cat and mouse together for from masters at their trade, while alone and Secrets And Lies only 30,

may well figure in the lists of all- some went down and some went up an intelligent attack on the Ameri- Lunas's lunatic Tit And The Moon | Lottery, money and increased time popular successes. Unfortu- the pecking order. Demi Moore can desire for vengeance against was as ironic a sexual fantasy as production funds are not enough nately, most of them appeared to be (Striptease), Geena Davis (Cut- criminals, preferably by death, Throat Island and The Long Kiss There was also Fargo, one of the on the make (which Lunas is defi- be seriously addressed. They are The characters were plastic, the Goodnight). Keanu Reeves (was best films the Coen brothers have nitely not). screenplays simply a matter of get- Speed a fluke?) and Julia Roberts produced since Blood Simple. And ting them from one piece of action (Mary Reilly) went down. And up John Sayles, great man of the Amer- Brits to save things for Europe, Nor will the censorship furore that to another, and only the special ef- came Nicolas Cage (Leaving Last ican independent scene, wrote and which they did by winning the caused David Cronenberg's Crash feets were left to entertain anyone Vegas, for which he got the Oscar, directed Lone Star, his best for Berlin Festival with Sense And Sen- to be banned - we haven't heard

and The Rock, for which he was some time. The surprise was David sibility factually an Anglo-American the last of that yet.

6 54-2



Sean Penn (Dead Man Walking). Two people reinvented them-

But when all is said and done hardly any were properly Holly-

here, and the 20th different part he has sung at Covent Garden.

The contrast between the two roles - from a full-hearted lyric Italian part to a stamina-sapping Wag- | tend his interpretation of the Moor nerian Heldentenor role — tells you a lot about Domingo. In fact, I think it tells you why he is the most admirable opera singer of recent times. He is always willing to try something new.

The 20 roles he has sung at | toned voice. Domingo in Otello a Covent Garden are predominantly | ways makes me think of brighth roles that the great tenors of his type would have sung in their own careers at any time this century. Three-quarters of them are Italian, mainly Verdi and Puccini, though with a couple of Giordanos thrown in. Four are French roles, including Don José in Carmen, a part in which as yet unscaled. To sing it would put he excels. It is the sort of list of parts that Caruso would have sung.

I have heard about half of them, and for me the great highlights have overwhelmingly been Domingo's And I hope he still will. Verdi roles. He is, many would say, the Verdi tenor of the age. If one were to make a really crude com- artists because of it. I will simply say parison between the two most fa- this. Who else would even think of mous tenors of the era, I would say undertaking such a range of roles that Pavarotti is the supreme Puccini singer and Domingo the champion in Verdi.

good in these roles. The two fal I have ever heard, better even Domingo roles that stay with me than Siggfried Jerusalem. down the years are both late Verdi parts. He sang Radames in Aida | was almost like a concert aria but rarely in London, but the performance I caught at Covent Garden in | less. It felt odd to hear Wagner sung the 1970s was a connoisseur's occa- like this. But then it is odd, unique sion, with the young Domingo cap- even. London Wagner audiences turing the drama and encompassing | have not heard such beautiful and the role as no one since.

Few who have experienced it will tenor for years. For once, though deny that the greatest of all his roles here was a Wagner tenor who not PHOTO NEL UBBERT | first sang the part at Covent Garden | tune, but sang it with phrasing and in 1980 with Margaret Price as line. Domingo reminded us that

Seven years later, he returned with, but to be sung, caressed, and,

Twelve Monkeys), Samuel Jackson ing thriller camped up with literary Leigh's Secrets And Lies (largely (never bad, in a lot of movies), and references and darkly memorable financed by the French) and furthe visual effects.

Smoke, Mike Figgis's Leaving Las | tom's Jude and Peter Greenaway's Vegas, Oliver Stone's uneven but The Pillow Book. impressive tale of a woman suffer- | Emily Watson, quite brilliant in her ME - seemed to me one of the success of Trainspotting, which out very best films of the year.

revival he instigated. It was left to to get British films distributed prop-Claude Sautet and Eric Rohmer, two erly in their own country. French veterans, and Bigas Lunas and Pedro Almodóvar, two eccentric | cially healthy British box-office figthe first (and possibly last) time. Almodovar's Flower Of My Secret | there is clearly an imbalance of ever imagined by a pornographer Distribution and exhibition have to

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1996

evenings I have ever spent in any opera house. What struck me then was how, at the height of his powers, Domingo could develop and exso magnificently. Even in 1980 Domingo's Otello was the stuff of instant legends, but the 1987 performances revealed an even darker and more tragic live to the always strong, supple and generously burnished copper, shining and weighty at one and the same time.

That would have been enough for most singers, but Domingo has always pressed on into new territory. Tristan remains, the greatest of all Heldentenor peaks, dreamed of but Domingo in the select group of singers - Melchior, Vinay and Vickers - who were great Olellos and great Tristans. He could do it.

I don't say that those who stick to the tried and tested are lesser today? And who sings any of the key ones better than he does? He is not just the best Otello, Don Carlos and Partly this is because he looks so Radames. He is also the best Parsi

His rendering of Winterstürm was absolutely exemplary none the effortless legato singing from a was, and still is, Otello. Domingo only sang every note exactly in ally written to be barked and battled

paid millions), Brad Pitt (Seven, | Fincher's Seven, a violent but hold- | production), Cannes with Mike plaudits for Danny Boyle's Wayne Wang and Paul Auster's Trainspotting, Michael Winterbol

There was one odd exception did all but the biggest Hollywood blockbusters in Britain, and Sense HE SUDDEN death of And Sensibility, which did similar Krzysztof Kiéslowski effec- business with a rather different autively murdered any thoughts dience, shouldn't blind anyone to

If you look at the year's superli-

most certainly won't be, whichever But it was generally left to the government is installed next year. GUARDIAN WEEHLY December 29 1996

Lynn MacRitchie meets an artist challenging the scientific establishment through her watercolours

ORNELIA Hesse-Honegger makes watercolour paintings of insects. They are meticulous and beautiful, but are they scientific data or works of art - and what difference does their definition make to how we, the viewers, respond to them? The reasons these questions

cluster unresolved about her work is because she paints insects which she believes have been deformed by exposure to radiation around nuclear power plants. Rejected as evidence by scientists, her work is now gaining international recognition on the fine art circuit.

Her pictures are intended to tell a story - but the interpretation of that story has differed violently depending on the context in which they have been seen. A professional scientific illustrator who has spent the past 25 years working in the Department of Zoology at the University of Zurich, she began her independent insect studies shortly after the explosion at Chernobyl in 1986. She specialised in painting the mutations suffered by fruit flies exposed to huge amounts of radiation in laboratory experiments. After Chernobyl, she felt "the whole of nature had become a laboratory". During her vocation, she visited Sweden, which had suffered high exposure to radioactive fall-out. There, as well as damaged insects, she also found plants which had changed colour or had deformed

She showed her paintings and the

insect specimens to some of the scientists with whom she worked. "Nobody had any interest. One said it could not be fall-out. One said I should see a psychiatrist because groups and control groups. anyone who went looking for deformed bugs must have a psycho- invited Hesse-Honegger to show in est damage is around the three logical problem." The embarrassment of her scientist colleagues, seen throughout Europe. Jon direction from them" It will take censorship, was a country that had when confronted with her findings, Bewley, director of Locus +, the art made her determined to continue. organisation which brought her work paintings: each one takes one and a The Gaelic Athletic Association car-"I am not a scientist, but the scien- to England, first saw it, he recalls, tists were not doing this work," she "in an Italian fashion magazine". As told me. "It seemed I had been given this burden. I had to take it, to work it out"

instincts, to do what her emotions | straight to Zurich to invite her to extold her was right. She began what was to become a global pilgrimage, collecting and painting specimens of | ing analytical models of society," bugs from the vicinity of nuclear power plants throughout Europe and the US.

cles about her findings which were in Oxford she came across as angry, passed on. Yuri Dubrova of the Vav- abuse and sadism by priests, Christpublished in a Swiss Sunday newspaper. She said exposure to even | trust, almost despise, the scientific low levels of radiation such as occur around nuclear power plants might shapen. While some mutations, of lectuals, mostly men ... even if a low doses of radiation," observed colour for example, could be caused study is made according to tradi- Sir Alec. by things such as pesticide sprays, tional scientific methods - who dethe asymmetries she recorded sug- cides whether a question is may yet prove to have been created gested morphological change, caused by genetic damage.

A scientist who knows Hessestudied the (proven) effects of radi- just do my work," was the reply. She Cornella Hesse-Honegger is at the ation on conifers at Chernobyl is currently making a study of the University Museum, Parks Road, urges caution, however. "There is Swiss canton of Aargau where there Oxford until January 10. The always difficulty in proving whether | are three nuclear power plants and | Future's Mirror, paintings from the morphological change is due to one research plant. She claims to Aargau series, is at Tullie House, radiation exposure or to the normal have discovered a rate of distur- | Carlisie until January 19

Flies in the face of adversity,"



"There would have to be controlled | cent near the plants. experiments, comparing exposed

soon as he saw her pictures, they fitted so well with the aim of Locus +. to show artists' work dealing with So she decided to work from her contemporary issues, that he went hibit. "Perhaps artists dare more the art world goes further in propos-Hesse-Honegger observes.

She, too, has had to dare to continue her work, and, listening to She wrote and illustrated two arti- her, the strain is evident. Lecturing important or not? Truth is only mea- with the prophetic insight of the sured by actual human standards artist.

Earlier, I had asked where all this Honegger's work and has herself was leading her. "I have no idea. I

Hesse-Honegger genetic damage in insects glorious St Patrick.

evolutionary process," she says. | bance in insects rising to 15.3 per | what is being evoked: "De Valera's |

The Austrian Minister of Culture patterns I have observed. The high- 1940s and 1950s." half weeks. "The time is right to do Chernobyl. In 1987-88 they said only 30 people died - they can no like that."

In April this year, on the tenth article in the magazine Nature plume from Chernobyl have found the first evidence that radiation damage to one generation could be emotional. She has learned to mis- llov Institute in Moscow, and Sir

Hesse-Honegger's insect studies

After Chernobyl; paintings by

MUSIC Peter Lennon

SAINT Ignatius Loyola could not have put it more jesuitically. "The record expresses the faith of the people, not the faith of the Church or the clergy," said John Kearns, attempting to explain the staggering success of his Faith Of Our Fathers CD, a collection of Catholic hymns that went straight to number one in the Irish charts.

With 35,000 copies sold in the first week, and total sales now at 60,000, the CD is heading for quintuple platinum by Irish thers is steaming towards a performance version in January at The Point in Dublin - the gargantuan venue of last year's Eurovision Song Contest.

Initially it was thought that the appear three times.

has frequently been recorded. It is the 17 lusty hymns, saturated in picty, patriotism and xenophobia --such as To Jesus Heart All Burning. Faith Of Our Fathers, Hail Glorious responding

Once again Irish Catholics' heroism before persecution "in spite of dungeon, fire and sword" can be | it is uniquely about nostalgia. celebrated. They can lose themselves in gruesome notions of salvation — "Deep in Thy wounds, Lord, hide and shelter me" — and they uses art to show how | can put their divided country back | easier time for people." radiation has led to in the tender care of a Welshman.

The publicity frankly identifies Ireland ..., the passion of the GAA ... "Disturbances happen all the the unique position of the Church in time, of course, but not in the every aspect of Irish life of the

De Valera's Ireland, with its op-Vienna, and her work has now been plants and the prevailing wind pressive film, book and newspaper 18 months to complete the 40 put the outside world in quarantine. CD from the altar ried xenophobia to the demented it. Ten years have passed since lengths of forbidding its members (currently three-quarters of a million) to play "foreign games" (soclonger get away with statements | cer, rugby, cricket etc) or even look at foreign games.

As for the Church, at a time when powerful clergy, as recent revelations of institutionalised sexual ian Brothers and nuns have estab-Alec Jeffreys, the British pioneer of lished. (By the end of last year, 13 from the appeal." Kearns said. establishment which is still her pro- genetic fingerprinting, found that out of 26 Irish dioceses had to orphanages.)

So is this phenomenon the fruit of their side. subterranean manoeuvring by the with it - at the outset at least.

Kearns, a 37-year-old Dublin mort-"out intention was, I should not say gion back into fashion; to remove it from the Church, but to He got the idea when he went to IR £14.99

ARTS 21 Irish nostalgia stirred by a tornado of hymns

Mass one Sunday evening this spring and found the congregation singing the old hymns. These have long been superseded by inept at-tempts at swinging hymns, which get a very lukewarm reception. Kearns went looking for a record of the old hymns and was astonished to find they had never been recorded.

When he put his idea to five Dublin record companies, they thought it was "lunatic" for modern Ireland. So with five other businessmen, and later a deal with Irish television, he launched his CD. And the plous tornado struck.

The hymns have been given classy treatment: a 51-piece orchesstandards. Now Faith Of Our Fa- | tra, drum rolls, harp and glockenspeils; Frank Patterson, tenor, Regina Nathan, soprano.

Although superficially the affair bears all the hallmarks of fundamentalist hype, it is not. Neither is it commercial hype: the promotion success of the record might be due | was modest. The CD's success was to the tasteful Gregorian chanting of clearly consumer-driven. There was the monks of Glenstal Abbey, who a huge untapped market. Some people are buying half a dozen But the monks' stately warbling | copies at a time to send to family abroad

The great debate in Ireland is whether this is a religious revival --which alarms those who hoped a repressive Church had been, appro-St Patrick — to which the public is | priately, brought to its knees — or just nostalgia, John Kearns and his partner, Bernard Bennett, also m linancial services, are adamant that

"It reminds people", Bennett said, "of a simple time when you hadn't got all the things that are being talked about now — a purer.

The difference is that in those times, those good old days, the horrors that we are only now discovering were actually happening. "But

The Catholic clergy have even taken to recommending the

they were not in the public domain." Bennett said, steadfast to Jesuit tradition.

Rather than nostalgia, a better word to describe what is happening is addiction. This looks like a conanniversary of the explosion, an its congregation sang of heroically vulsive, and genuinely spontadefending their faith "in spite of neous, reaching-out by generations noted that scientists examining fam- dungeon, fire and sword", the only hooked on religion who, betrayed illes in the path of the radioactive persecution taking place was being by their Church leaders, were meted out by the repressive, all- obliged to go cold turkey on their spiritual habits. They were gasping for a fix of the old purities.

> "An association with the Church or hierarchy would actually detract

So the country is performing the fessional base. "Scientific truth is genetic mutations occur twice as contend with cases of child sexual interesting intellectual gymnastic of cause genetic damage. The bugs only one way of describing complex often in children of parents exposed abuse, alleged or proven. In March singing hymns while pretending she found had feelers missing, reality," she said. "The scientific to the fallout. "To our great surprise of this year it was the nuns' turn, this has nothing to do with religion. wings deformed and bodies mis- model is determined by liberal intel- we did indeed find an effect at really with cases of Gothic cruelty in Or at least the nervous promoters are wary of having the clergy on

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But inevitably the clergy are Church to tap the loyalty of the getting in on the act: recommendfaithful and win them back? Curl- | Ing Faith Of Our Fathers from the ously, the clergy had nothing to do altar, referring to it at funerals. In the maternity ward of Hollis Street "From the beginning," said John | Hospital, it is played all day.

Now the CD is heading for The gage manager whose idea it was. Point, Riverdancing old-time reli-

keep it separate from the Church." Faith Of Our Fathers, RTE CD 198.

22 BOOKS With a bullet in his head

Phil Baker

The Night in Question by Tobias Wolff Bloomsbury 211pp £15.99

A *HEN* so much short fic tion is about catching vari-eties of absence, or precise shades of grey, Tobias Wolff writes stories where things really happen. After the "twist in the tail" stories of the notorious O Henry and others, people are wary of the muscular short narrative. But it doesn't have to be too gimmicky or powerful new 15-story collection.

watches a dog attack his little

was on a long chain — "The Chain" is the fitle - and its owner's pros- son's truth." But who could have re- mugged. He doesn't contradict perous house is a place where "the law was among friends". Instead Mr | on, we develop a strong suspicion. Gold turns to his cousin, who is only too keen to fix the dog. So things until a dude with a BMW and "SCUSE ME" licence plates damages the cousin's car. Then careful, law-abiding Mr Gold owes a fayour in return.

strong central idea or situation. An ple twist. Elsewhere the hidden obituary writer is fired for filing the cargo is desire, with overeating and obituary of a man still alive. The mosuble, as Wolff shows in this man magnanimously invites him for willing acquiescence, whether lunch, and they fall to arguing about Like a bad dream, Mr Gold the worthwhile life. ("You can lead a good life without being a celebrity," daughter. He drags it off, but the says the self-regarding Mr Givens. his narratives, like the schoolmaster ammoniac bad breath makes him re- by Bloomsbury at £15.98

In "The Other Miller", a soldier named Miller is told his mother is dead. He is laughing inwardly, glad to be given a spell of compassionate leave; he knows it must be the other Miller, who often gets his mai Wolff is too canny to say if he is Wolff's stories often unfold from a right or wrong - it isn't such a simtheft as its metaphors, or varieties of | threats, before a gun under his chin | journals that nobody reads, includdressing up as a maid or being manoeuvred into buying a used car.

Character study is at the centre of



Master storyteller Tobias Wolff started off inventing his own past. Now he rnakes up other people's. By Robert Winder

F THE American writer Tobias perate to escape a bullying step- unendurable." father, he nicked some official thentic fiction.

wrote without heat or hyperbole, in | cline to have it. the words my teachers would have scholarship.

It would not be true to say he way modern fiction does." then forged on with never a backward glance: in his two award-win- conversation you would expect to **be** ning memoirs (This Boy's Life and | have with Wolff. He has led a melo-In Pharaoh's Army) he has looked dramatic life, and surely has a fund An American Chekhov . . . but Wolff is more deserving of the ounce of sentimentality and he did it back — without heat or hyperbole of flashy stories to tell. He grew up — as intently as any modern writer.] in a house of some cruelty, and tried He is probably (perversely) better most things in response; violence, those drawbridges that rises to let newspaper editor, and there were He clearly writes according to the known for autobiography than for theft and evasiveness of all kinds. boats through. One night, the man two other editors there. None of precepts he most admires. Quite a fiction. But that early plunge into As an 11-year-old he agreed to be- took his young son along with him, them had heard this story. So they few writers have been hailed as the storytelling made a big splash. His come a Catholic so long as he could and the inevitable happened. The went to the minister and said, 'Did collections (The Night In Question, change his name to Jack. When he boy disappeared into the machine you really read that in the news- the banner as confidently as Wolff his latest, is the third) quiver with enrolled in private school on false room, into that exciting whirl of paper?' and he said, 'No, not really himself. He makes things up and the awareness that everything in life papers, he called himself Tobias von cogs and wheels. A train was about - it's part of the sermon to say makes them seem real, while naris a story. They snap open, pulling Ansehn-Wolff III. He joined the to arrive. If the man threw the that,' And they said 'No-no-no-no-no, rating his own multi-story life as if it you in fast, usually in one sentence: army, toured Vietnam, and then be- switch, he would kill his own son. If that's not part of the sermon, that's were a novel. "Gilbert saw her first ..., Brian Gold | came a Rhodes scholar at Oxford. was at the top of the hill when the 1 dog attacked ... It began while she on pornography in an American uni- death. What should he do? He was a The minister didn't get it. He'd sors - it seems to put a dent in was at work."

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and to themselves. Sometimes piqued by the furore). And so on, in the Lord, God himself offering up brought home what had been eating bit, When I mentioned, tentatively, toften) they get muddled, or lose Apart from anything else, he is one his only son. His soul swelled with at me about that story; how manipu- that his stories had put me in mind the plot entirely. At one point in the of very few people who have faith. He knew what had to be done, lative it was, how brutal, the idea of of Chekhov, he didn't seem to mind new book, a soldier in Vietnam | watched their own childhood on a learns a bitter truth. Each of the cinema screen (in the film version He didn't believe it, and quite right In the book the story comes out for all the world as if the thought tales he has told himself turns out to of This Boy's Life) with Robert De too: it has all the trappings of urban as a conversation between a brother had never occurred to him, "I'll be be false. He never thought he was Niro playing the bully: "Oddly myth. But it was served up as the and a sister: a conversation that damned." the kind of man who would walk enough, the scenes that shook me gospel truth. "It was at a cultural fes- charts the hummocks of manipulapast begging children and feel noth- were the ones they invented, which tival," he says. "A woman told me tion and dependency that lie being, but he is. He never thought he | turned out to be true". Yet what he | about a protestant minister who | tween them. would visit prostitutes, but he does. really talks about when he talks is gave this sermon which I had heard He does not see himself as a whitter | storytelling. and a shirker, which is what he has become. He clings to the idea that he is, at least, the kind of man who of the most dramatic works in the and were horrified, horrified, would do anything for a pal, but he new book is based, apparently, on a made a tremendous impression on It sounds tricky, but Wolff's composoon bumps into the fact of that real incident: it was in all the papers. everyone. matter too.

Wolff is a connoisseur of such turning points. "To some degree or other," says Wolff, leaning forward into another book tour, "I think all of us attempt to occupy a particular position in the world. And we feel nevertheless that this is a false position. So we're always creating a place for ourselves that another part Wolff has some sort of genius of us doesn't believe in. There's a for making things up, it might tension there, and for some people be because he started young. Des- there are flashpoints that make it

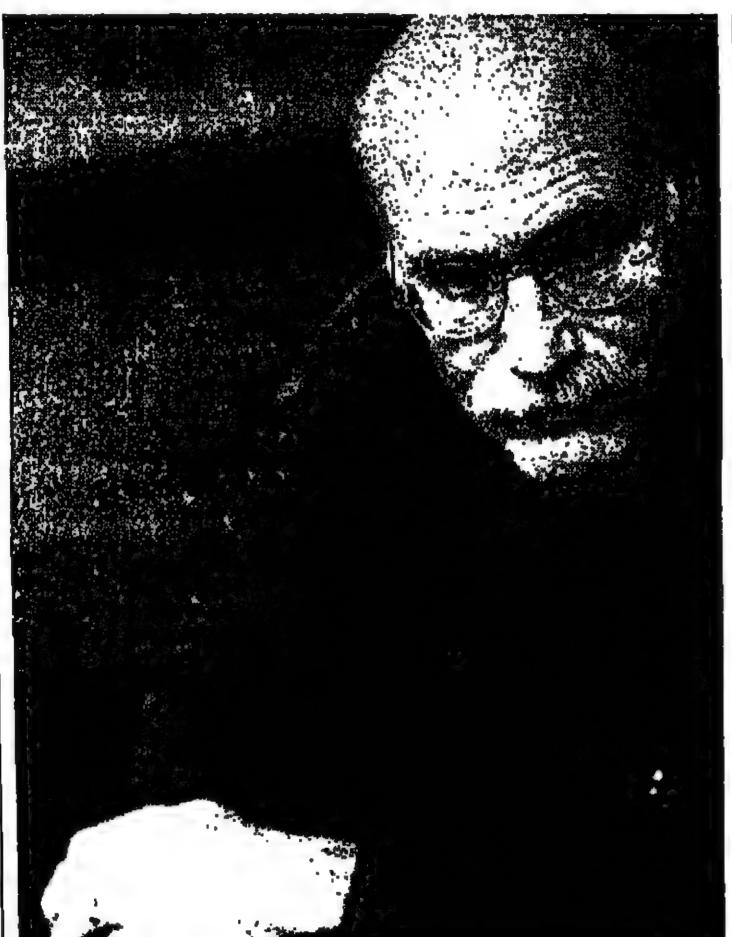
He is not in the business of supstationery and forged applications | plying gratifying bursts of enlightto several exclusive private schools. ennient at such times. There's no As he stroked the facts, awarding | tap-dancing; no showing off. "One of himself straight A-grades and an im- the conventional tyrannies in the pressive athletic career, he tasted US," he says, "is the idea of for the first time the flavour of an- containany. There's the expectation that at some point characters must "I could afford to be terse and be see the light. Often, it's just a conmodest in my self-descriptions." he ventional move. I think in my stories wrote, "knowing how detailed my the possibility of that experience is recommenders were going to be, I | there, but the characters often de-

"The 19th century allowed you to used if they had known me as I | fix on the horrors of the world, the knew myself." It worked: he won a j injustice outside yourself. But it doesn't shine the light inward the

This is not necessarily the sort of

He taught a controversial course full of people plunging to their of people and disturbed them." versity (Wolff is no one's idea of a faithful bible-reader. He recalled the clearly been taught how to tell the their singularity. But Wolff himself People tell stories to each other, misogynist, and he was rather precedents: Isaac putting his trust story in bible college or whatever. It doesn't mind the comparison one

an alertness to fraud in others. One that. But people took it seriously, cerns their father, so the sermon is It concerned a railwayman on one of But this woman's husband was a 1 that soldiering; when he has a story



illustrious title than most

This was the version Wolff heard. God that lies behind it, everything." at all, "Well, I'll be damned," he said.

when I was a kid. He said he'd read | easy and deep. The real difficulty The flip side of his own fluency is it in the paper - they always say between the brother and sister con-

ported Givens dead? As lunch goes

who prides himself on making a difference to his pupils by countering | suddenly a bullet in his brain makes the easy lies of the world. But when he makes a drunken fool of himself police aren't interested. The dog | "That's true", says our all-American | and gets a kicking for it, everybody obituarist, "but it's kind of a little per- at his school assumes he has been them. More than that, they assume he's been mugged by blacks. "It was dark," he says, trying to fudge the issue, "I couldn't see them." Wolff's range — generic, tonal, stylistic is remarkable: even within the same story, which is more usually a recipe for disaster.

A book reviewer is in a bank during a robbery. "The stern, brassknuckled poetry of the dangerous US short fiction, a world alluded to classes," he sneers at the robber's in here as "a few stories in literary forces him to admire the painted ing me". These are stories you actuceiling, "even worse than he remembered, and all of it executed with the utmost gravity." Only the robber's

he hesitated, he would send a train a straight lie. You lied to hundreds

It is typical Wolff, simultaneously a story-within-a-story-within-a-story. sure never falters. Perhaps it is all

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1998

alise the situation is serious, and his life "pass before his eyes"; ; phrase we're told he would have ab horred. But the quality of flashbacks makes the situation something more than ginimicky, and it gels,

Why should Wolff have it in fo book reviewers, who have generally agreed he can do no wrong? Per haps it is slightly crude to underscore ironics, or to reflect a main point in the title ("geddit?"). And perhaps Wolff's narratives are vulgarly red-blouded for the grey fic tioneers. But they are remarkable by the standards of contemporary in here as "a few stories in literary ally want to read.

The Night in Question is published

in his sights, his hands do not shake.

Like his friend, the late Raymond Carver, he adores Chekhuv, and Wolff still talks about his hero with the eagerness of someone who's just discovered something: "What do I like about Chekhov? It's hard to say what I don't like. I like his onideological morality. He's very funny. and never moralistic. He writes t about the difficulties of choice - his (people are sculpting themselves with their choices. They're not completely determined by circumstances, though you do feel the weight of those circumstances very heavily, more so than in Tolstoy. say, who gives more credit to human agency than Chekhov does ; But then folstoy also had this for. mance about the peasantry which ; Chekhov didn't have - couldn't have, because he was from there. his grandtather was a freed serf.

"Actually, Chekhov has a wonderful sentence about Tolstoy in a letter: 'Peasant blood runs in my veins, so you cannot astonish me with peasant virtues.' I love that. He was clear-eyed about everyone in that way, he had a discernment of the power relations between men and women, he saw beyond the glaze of custom. And what invention! He came up with motions between people that identified the differences between them. He did it without an PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILLITOE | time and time again - there are 600 stories."

American Chekhov, Not many carry

Writers don't usually like being compared to even great predeces

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK The Pentland Press Edinburgh Canibridge Durham USA Established publisher welcomes books in all subjects. While for delaits or send your menuscript to Pentiand Press (WG), 1 Hutton Close, South Church, Durham DL14 6X8 Tel: 01388 776555 Far: 01388 776766



William Trevor

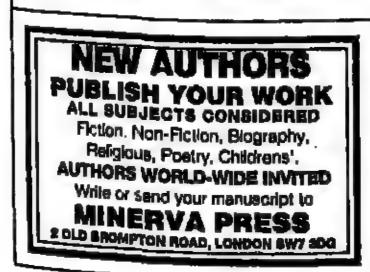
"He gets no further than Wednesday", they said once upon a time in Norfolk when they meant he wasn't the full shilling. In the town of aspire to. The story of an intensely investigation of the Montana land-Tuam, among the young, a church is a pineapple, £10 a brick, and chips out and a French shop-girl in provinare banners. In Ayrshire if you're cial France, it has an enviable bruised you're hashed, if you're freshness and rich sensuality. bloody you're jurmumbled. "He wasn't drunk exactly, only a little disguised," they may still say Kent, Certainly, within easy memory, I've been given Moll Dole the rough side of the tongue - in County Wexford. I've pleached, gar- an excellent Everyman edition). But bled and repeatedly been banjaxed. So, I imagine, has Diarmaid O guzzlers in the form of Martin Row-Muirithe, whose The Words We | son's comic-book version of the Use (Four Courts Press, £6,99) is a great novel (Picador, £15.99), delight from start to finish. Frank McCourt has a way with words too. A retired New York schoolmaster, | should also mention two important he was brought as a child to the slums of Limerick in the bleak | tention than they got - Nicholas 1940s by parents who had emi- Morray's Life of Matthew Arnold an indispensable complement to £30), brings grated to America and failed there. Boozy father, pious mother, Humphries's Richard Thompson: phy: a compelling picture of Welles work which anyone who pompous priests, drenching rain: Strange Affair (Virgin, £12.99), as a wayward, oddly prophetic ge- admires bliot's poetry will be it's that same terrible frish sorrow, each of them a fitting tribute to an mite unrelieved in a moving and remarkable memoir, Angela's Ashes (HarperCollins, £16,99).

Isabel Fonseca

In Savages (Macmillan, £16.99) Joe (Harvill, £6.99 pbk) is the most res- family eating happily together. John Czechoslovakia during the 1970s Kane tracks the clusive Huarani | onantly enjoyable novel I've read | Lahr's Light Fantastic (Blooms | prevented the publication of Holith's Indians and their struggle for sur- this year, interleaving the angst and bury, £20) was a fine collection of vival in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The quest for contentment of mod- New Yorker pieces that showed that Helena Drysdale's visit as a student | ern America with unfailing preci- | dramatic criticism, given space and to pre-revolutionary Romania, her sion. It is nerve-touching, true, time, can be an art form in its own innocent dalliance with a man called funny, long, with a gallery of plain right. Most topical re-reading of the "George", his disappearance and American exotics. An unmannered year was Matthew Arnold's Se- Worldly Goods (Macmillan, £25), a her return a decade later are cap- Undike for the nineties. Palimp- lected Prose (Penguin, £9.99), ravishing study of the Renaissance tured in Looking for George (Pica- seat by Gore Vidal (Abacus, £9.99) which reminded one that heedless relates not only what happened to gossip I've read for years. The mem- the Barbarians and Philistines are doomy and beguiling country. Ad- eye bring forth a subversive com- they were in the 1860s. ventures of another kind are to be mentary on the public history of litfound in Christopher Isherwood's erary and political America in Laura Cumming Diaries: Volume I (Methuen, £25), mid-century, starring edited by Katherine Bucknell, Start- Tennessee ing on the day in January 1939 that Williams, Anals he set sail for America with Auden Nin, J F Kennedy, and taking us up to Santa Monica in and many others, 1960, Isherwood's intimate chroni-cle — visited by just about everyone brilliant than unpayou've ever heard of — is a compelling mix of perspicacious cultural criticism, sharp, often funny observation about people and places, and good old gossipy glamour.

Lucretia Stewart

(Chatto, £20). Essential reading for (Harvill, £14.99; £8.99 pbk), an any writer or would-be writer. Even | award-winner in Germany but outraif you think that you dislike biographies and/or Virginia Woolf, this fictional narratives explore the pain book will change the way you think of Jewish exile and homelessness and literature. A terrifically inspir- quiet tact, address what seems so ing read. A Sport and a Pastime mysterious to others, the suicide thrillingly horrible route from the Warsaw, St Petersburg and Odessa. aplomb. by James Salter (Random House that overtakes survivors of the worst Age of Reason directly to Reagan, Extending the story further east US, \$12,50). As far as I know, this of traumas in old age. Another over- Thatcher and, incidentally, David and south, Neal Ascherson's Black perfect, small novel has never been looked work was Auschwitz: 1270 published in the UK; choosing it as to the Present by Robert Jan van a book of the year may therefore Pelt and Deborah Dwork (Yale, seem like the worst kind of perver-



From biographies to flights of fancy, critics and writers dwell on their favourite titles of 1996

It never rains but it pours

the novels that I have read this year, box; the deceptively laconic jottings it is the most extraordinary and ex- of Sam Shepard's Cruising citing. It has made my year, Paradise (Secker & Warburg, TS coloured it and given me an ideal to sexual affair between a Yale drop-

Francis Wheen

My lavourite book of this year, as every year, is Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy (now available in 1996 brought a bonus for Shandyadorned and embellished with many deft curlicues of his own. biographics that deserved more at-(Hodder, £20) and Patrick underrated English genius.

Hugo Young

triotic Gore.

Linda Grant

Every year I read a novel and read anything better than this by December. By April I'd found Hermione Lee's Virginia Woolf | W G Sebald's The Emigrants geously ignored in Britain. The four £25), which examines the architectural plans for the camp and reveals that much of what visitors see today is a post-war fabrication.

Richard Williams

Proulx's Accordion (Fourth Estate, £16.99), a warm- rather on the legal ramifications. A Fusewire (Chatto, £6.99). These blooded and joltingly eventful jour- provoking and moral book that are love poems and mediations on ney through the century in the searches for reasons, not excuses. history narrated by an English-

sity and pretentiousness. But of all | company of a small Sicilian squeeze-£15.99); Jonathan Raban's forensic rush and its consequences in Bad Land (Picador, £15.99); vivid oral history from the likes of Homesick James and Little Milton in Paul (Cambridge, Trynka's absorbing Portrait of the Blues, with photographs by Val Wilmer (Hamlyn, £20); and wonderfully rhyming images of dancers, trumpeters and just plain folk in Roy DcCarava: A Retrospective (Museum of Modern Art, New York, \$60 hbk; \$29,95 pbk), the work of an outstanding African-American photographer.

Michael Billington

can never read enough about Orson Welles. David Thomson's of the March Rosebud (Little, Brown, £20) was Hare (Faber, Simon Callow's magnificent biogra- into the light of day nius based on the notion that Kane grateful for, Miroslav Holub's native



Milan



sensual indolence utionary. against the insanity of speed: eroticism | W L Webb versus Road Rage, the

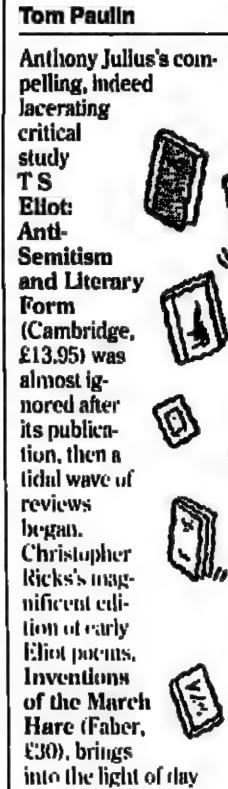
Kundera's

Slowness (Faber,

Bowic and John Birt.

Beryl Bainbridge

She Must Have Known by Brlan a defence of the infamous Rosemary West, in which the author argues that, although culpable, Mrs West Colm Tolbin was not guilty of murder. It is to his Five American songs: E Annie | credit that he dwells not on the sen- | The best book of poetry published Crimes sational aspects of the case but in Britain in 1996 was Ruth Padel's



the account of the aged, cash- Characteristically, Holub extracts Pleasure is the only test, Indepen- strapped Welles dining with a young lyricism from its denial. He's a gedence Day by Richard Ford acolyte and looking enviously at a mus. Censorship in his native books there. In Britain, indifference sometimes works like a censor.

Beatrix Campbell

by that rather Renaissance, radical Reservation Blues (Minerva, blues singer Robert Johnson is a artist. supple, shimmering novel about music, stamina and sacred encounters in the desert. Billie Holiday by

Visions (Harvill £40) ter of the short sentence. This is Sea (Vintage, £7.99 pbk) does for the Caucasus something of what Braudel's great work did with the Mediterranean, on a smaller scale, but with the same lovely combina-Masters (Doubleday, £15.99) This is tion of curious stories and grand connecting perspectives.



HELUS PRATION SUCH DALLE

was essentially a self-portrait. What | Pilsen — its "infinitely crooked | woman desperately in love with a also emerged was Welles's nomadic streets" — is evoked in Supposed man in frish public life. All the solitude; nothing was sadder than To Fly (Bloodaxe Books, \$8,95). Cliches about the relationship between the two islands are subverted here, England longs for Ireland: Irehand is the strong partner. The novel 1 liked best was Patrick McGrath's Asylum (Viking, £15). which also deals with the power of passion. The story, which is about wildness and dark destruction, is told in a prose which is cool and -eloquent, fall of wonderful sentences and superb ironies. I also admired Anthony Cronin's Samuel Beckett: The Last Modernist dor, £6.99), where she grippingly is the wittiest exercise in serious individualism still prevails and that woman, Professor Lisa Jardine, (HarperCollins, £25). Cronin writes with great insight not only on Beckhim but what has become of that oirist's sardonic egotism and pitiless as present in Britain in the 1990s as £6.99) by Sherman Alexie, whose ett's Irish background, but on his book in memory of the legendary strange and slow evolution as an

John Ryle

Stuart Nicholson (Indigo, £7.99 How Many People Can the Earth £12.99) is a bril-liant argument for great singer as a musical revol-Norton, £22.50) is an even-handed £12.99) is a bril- pbk), revisiting the reputation of the Support? by Joel E Cohen (W W and humane consideration of the big, worrying question. The Spears of Twilight: Life and Death in the Amazon Jungle by Enlightenment against the New Europe, new history? In fact, Philippe Descola (HarperCollins, soundbite. Riveting ideas | Europe: A. History (Oxford, £25) | £20), a magisterial work by a couched in an elegant is the story of the old, true Europe | French ethnologist in the tradition think to myself, I'll be lucky if I've and seductive novel; lost to sight during our long, politi- of Claude Levi-Strauss, eclipses Kundera's first really cally induced amnesia, and now bril- other South American rainforest comic book. Since the liantly recovered by A J P Taylor's travelogues. A Glimpse of Hell. LI, hardback version of Robert brightest pupil, Norman Davies, an- edited by Duncan Forrest (Cassell, Hughes's great American | other sardonic Lancastrian and mas- | £12.99), a compilation of Amnesty International reports on torture, is doesn't appear until May, console | Europe with its amputated Eastern | horrible but necessary, not a bedyourself with John Ralston Saul's half restored, remembering all the side book. The Oxford Guide to Voltaire's Bastards: The Dicta- creativity, character and blood Contemporary Writing (OUP, about life and its relationship to art and, with the utmost delicacy and torship of Reason in the West pumped through the Continent from £20) edited by John Sturrock, per-(Penguin, £13), which plots a Dresden and Prague, Budapest and forms a useful, difficult task with

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London Arena in February 1995

Lucid truth of hype and hope in the ring

John Gaustad

T HE judges of the William Hil Sports Book of the Year were primarily looking for good writing that illuminates something significant in the world of sport — either dealing with something which had not been treated at booklength before, or which threw new light on something we thought we already knew, forcing us to look at it again.

Dark Trade: Lost In Boxing (Mainstream, £14.99) by Donald McRae fell into the latter category and was a supreme example of its type, good enough indeed, to be named as the Sports Book of the Year for

McRae offers a lucid and per ctrating assessment of professional boxing in the nineties. However, it is also the story of his quest to understand this dark and dangerous world.

The starting point is his childhood in South Africa, and his dawning awareness that boxers. and above all Muhammad Ali, could be an inspiration for both blacks and whites.

From his infatuation with Ali. which was stimulated by newsreel coverage of the Cleveland Williams and Ernie Tyrell fights,

Bestsellers of 1996

- 1 Left Foot Forward --- A Year in the tufe Of A Journeyman Footballer by Garry Nelson (Eleadline, paperback, £5.99)
- 2 Everywhere We Go --- Behind the Matchday Madness. by Daugie and Eddy Brimson
- (Headline, paperback, £6.99) 3 Football Grounds of Britain. by Simon Inglis (Collins Willow, paperback, $\Omega(14.99)$
- 4 The Complete Book of the Olympics,

by David Wallechinsky

grew his fascination with the men who inhabit this violent arena. His focus throughout the book is on the boxers themselves, their thoughts and experiences.

Naturally enough he starts with Tyson, the "Baddest Man on the Planct" and the epitome of menace, and what makes his book so fascinating is his concern to discover what kind of men these are who choose such a dangerous occupation, to probe behind their malevolence.

His encounters with Tyson, as with all the others, are described with compelling honesty. Although, on his account, his questioning of them was often halting, and at times even maladroit, one has a very clear sense that somehow, to some extent, they trusted him, and for me this is what distinguishes his hook.

While boxing is rife with both bad faith and hype, there's a clear sense that McRae's sensitive appraisals come very near to the truth, managing to reveal these boxers in their particularity. The one who comes up most often is James "Lights Out" Toney, another self-proclaimed "bad man". There is an astound ing account of how McRae shared the tension of the final

hours before the fight with Tony Thornton.

Then there's his loss to Roy Jones, his threat to kill his manager, and how he eventually recovered his fire.

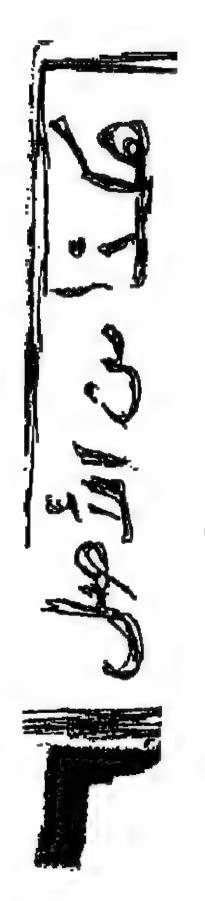
Yet it's also a vivid picture of a sport grappling with profound change. McRae deals, after all, with the period when boxing went "showtime", the money became astronomical, and the deaths of Bradley Stone, Jimmy Garcia and James Murray and the tragic injuries suffered by Michael Watson and Gerald McClellan made the inherent risks undenlable.

Although McRae doesn't provide answers to these dilemmas. he does give a sincere account of his own qualms and self-questioning, and his sense that there are not any easy solutions. Finally, he also writes really well. Apart from a few ill-judged scene-setter sentences about the sun burning high in a blue desert sky etc, his prose is nimble and sensitive, and although he describes lots of fights he largely avolds clichés and repetition. I believe it is a very special book and a very worthy winner.

John Gaustad is chairman of the William Hill Sports Book of the Year judging panel

(Aurum Press, paperback, £13,95) by John Feinstein **5** Bad As I Wannabe, by Dennis Rodman with Tim Keown (Delacorte Press, hardback, £15.99) by Andrew Jennings 6 Stan The Man by Stanley Bowles with Raiph Allen and John Joha (Paper Plane, hardback, English Football £12.99) by Ken Ferris **7** Football Against the Energy, by Simon Kuper (Orion Phoenix, paperback, £6.99)

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 29 1998

PHOTOGRAPH VANESSA WINSHIP

8 A Good Walk Spolled - Days and Nights on the PGA Tour. (Little, Brown, paperback, £8.93)

9 The New Lords of the Rings

(Pockelbooks, paperback, £6.99)

10 Football Fanalic — A Recordbreaking Journey Through

(Two Heads, paperback, £8.99) List supplied by Sportspages, Caxton Walk, 94-96 Charing Cross Road, London WC2

The fact that the competition flourished regardless of these numerous | Flamed and the tragedies that betall vested interests renders his detailed James Murray and Gerald McClelaccounts of internal conflicts a dis- | lan. It is not descriptions of the traction, - Paul Kelso

The Wrestling by Simon Garfield Faber £9,99

A SALTY history of the holds, headlocks, ricked backs, shattered was British professional wrestling. Fired by a desire to discover what has become of the men and women who once attracted Saturday afternoon TV audiences in excess of 8 million. Garfield presents the story through the words of the protagonists themselves. A colourful cast of characters including Jackie Pallo, Mick McManus, Jimmy Savile, Brian Glover, and the mysterious Kendo Nagasaki tell a remarkable story of men crippled by the game ruthlessly exploited by promoters, but beloved by the public. PK

Motty's Diary: A Year in the Life by John Motson Virgin £12.99

IN 1995 John Motson, the BBC's voice of football, and the man who's done more for the sheepskin coat than anyone, notched up his 25th year behind the microphone. To celebrate, football's archetypal trainspotter recorded his daily routine for posterity, and endearing stuff it is. Never guilty of taking with Henry Winter himself too seriously, Motty's devotion to the game and his profession shines through, all the more so for | THE relentless onslaught of trans the Pooterish quality of the entries. Charming, funny, impossible to in your head. PK

Little Girls in Pretty Boxes by Joan Ryan The Women's Press £8.99)

ONCE every four years, millions sit endured, and the hundreds who justification. BC

Unerringly, Ryan, one of America's a catalogue of what she describes as in which girls starve themselves ther research shows that 60 per cent of college gymnasts in the US

Tyson, the eros of hubank and fights that are remarkable in this book but the accounts of the schmaliz, the sleaze and the noble endeavour that are woven through boxing in about roughly equal amounts.

This is a worthy and important contribution to boxing literature at a knees, cysts, sores and showbiz that time when squabbles and money mania are supping the "noble art". --- Ben Clisset



Naseem: prince of egos

Daiglish: My Autobiography by Kenny Daiglish Hodder & Stoughton £16.99

parent and shallow soccer autobi ographies is rarely punctuated by read without affecting a Motty voice one that captures an audience beyond those who stockpile south venir shop catalogues by their beds. But Kenny Dalglish's was alwuys likely to be different. For a start, no one in British football matched his success as a player and a manager while resolutely communicating so captivated by the seemingly effort- little; he was at the heart of the less skill and grace of élite female | tragedy at Heysel stadium and turgymnasts and icc skaters at the moil in his leaving of Liverpool; his Olympic Games. Read this book, sudden and dramatic departure however, and you'll never be able to from Blackburn came less than a look at those frail, tiny figures per- month before the book was pubforming feats of co-ordination and lished. A revealing and occasionally power without thinking of the moving portrait that mainly mansuffering and sacrifice they have | ages to resist the temptation to selfGUARDIAN WEEKLY December 22 1996 Michael Mandelbaum THE ELEVENTH PLAGUE:

By Leonard A, Cole

shared popular fears and long-running, highly visible international negotiations. Also included in this category are chemical and biologi cal weapons, inorganic and live agents with lethal effects. These are

the subjects of this worthy book.

Their family resemblance to nuclear weapons is not always appar ent. They are not as powerful. A chemical or biological attack could not destroy a large city, although such an attack could kill a great clear weapons plainly belong to the Republic of Iran. history of warfare: they are the most powerful artillery shells ever created. Chemicals and biological munitions seem to belong more to the history of court intrigue, in which rivals eliminated each other by poison, or to the natural history of epidemics and plagues.

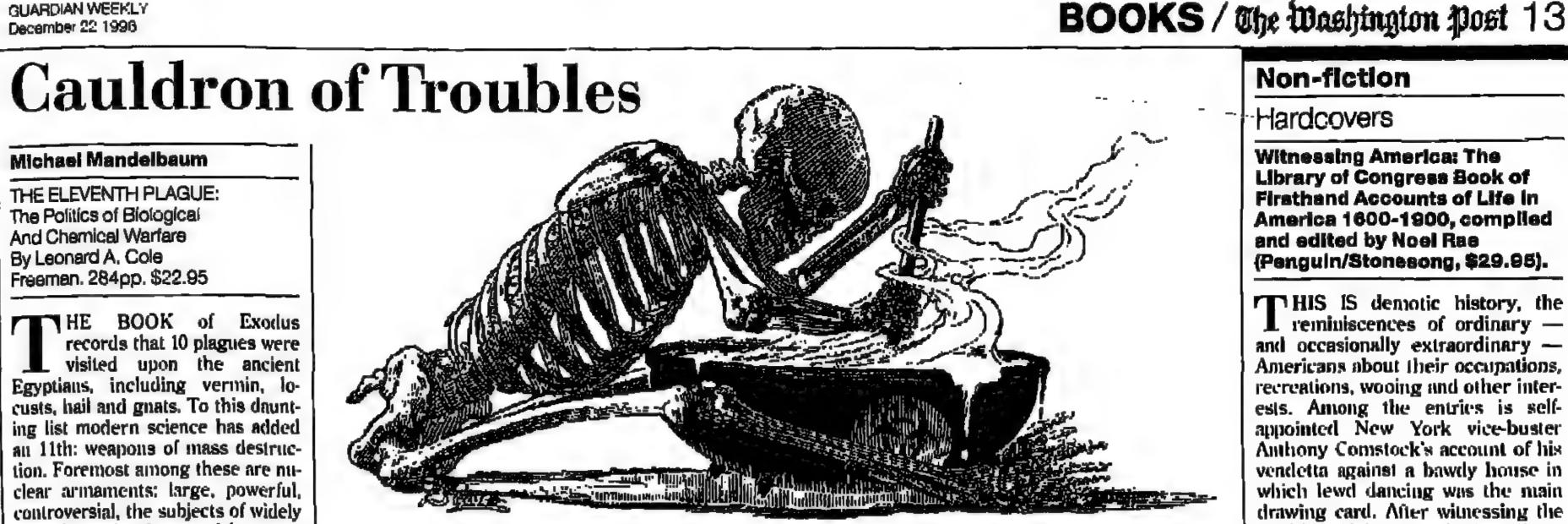
Plagues, in the Bible's account, are the work of the Almighty, During the Cold War nuclear weapons were largely, although not exclusively, the property of the planet's two most powerful countries, the United States and the Soviet Union.



N OLWEN HUFTON'S The Prospect Before Her there is a riveting vignette: The fishwives of Britain, Holland and France (who marketed what their husbands caught or bought) were "a vociferous bunch" - "coarse and unruly women" in the vanguard of political protest. To this day their name still describes shrill, fierce and formidable females. tion were said to suffer from

Hufton's book offers a bounty of such anecdotal minutiae. English men too drunk to sustain an erec-"brewer's droop." German men "emasculated by their wives" were depicted as lions without claws. In 1652, Dutch Calvinist clergy conments where girls could fall over, briefly taught, Hufton seems to dis- "women's business" and "the main showing more of their anatomy than tance herself from academic femi- way in which female sociability and was deemed modest." Venetian ism, which generally ignores or prostitutes identified themselves by dismisses the biological sciences. wearing eye-catching, "high-heeled She pointedly asserts, "In the early red shoes,"

Nobody."



weapons differ from nuclear arms: They are the weapons of the weak. They have been called "the poor man's atomic bomb." It is easier to make or get them than to make or get nuclear weapons, and so they are more likely to be used, ludeed. unlike nuclear weapons, chemical weapons have been used since 1945. notably by Saddam Hussein in the 1980s against the Kurds of northern

The Eleventh Plague presents a series of essays on different episodes in the history of chemical and biological weapons: experiments conducted by the American military during the 1950s; the effects of the use of chemical weapons during the Persian Gulf War; and the debate about whether, given the difficulties of verification, it is wise

later than you think. The same chemical weapons fired at franian soldiers could be used Tokyo subway in 1995 by a Japanese cult could be used to attack masstransit passengers in New York.

There is no simple way to prevent chemical or biological attacks. A however, no equivalent for chemical vented a Soviet nuclear attack by weapons threatening a devastating nuclear assault in retaliation

treaties concluded in 1972 and 1993 | weapons: the stigma attached to | forcing the stigma an important Here again, chemical and biological | but often ignored messages: It can | pected of weapons that are cheap | The Eleventh Plagne.

happen in the United States, and it's | and effective. Since the advent chemical weapons during World War I, even nations engaged in cruel and desperate struggles seem American troops, The same kind of to have avoided resorting to them in deadly nerve gas spread in the part because they believed that doing so was morally wrong.

Saddam Hussein was obviously | implicated the local police. not burdened with such scruples. But the regulsion these weapons arouse may have affected even him. War, by Donovan Webster many of the city's inhabitants. Nu- Iraq and the soldiers of the Islamic combination of treaties, restraints It is possible that he did not use the (Pantheon, \$23). on the export of dangerous techno- | chemical armaments in his posseslogies, defensive measures, and sion in 1991 against American monitoring is required. There is, I troops or Israeli civilians because he understood that the horror this and biological weapons of the Cold | would provoke might trigger terri-War policy of nuclear deterrence. | ble retaliation against him, perhaps under which the United States pre- involving even more powerful

Although it cannot guarantee their abolition, the worldwide revul-The book singles out for special is sion that chemical and biological to try to abolish chemical and bio- attention one particular obstacle to we more evoke does contribute to logical weapons completely, as the use of chemical and biological limiting their use. That makes reinattempt to do. The book's overall them. They have been used, but I ternational goal, and one method of purpose is to deliver two familiar less frequently than would be ex- doing so is publishing books like

> water are no respecters of persons." [mal practices by going on all fours." The book's later chapters, on Oddly, as she moves into her own specialty, Huffon loses her sure sense of the general audience, most of whom will need to be more patiently briefed, for example, about witty women of tashion. Except for a dramatic account of the march in October 1789 of 6.000 rebel women on the royal palace at Versailles, these chapters seem somewhat murky and fragmented

There are some troubling sins of omission. Hulton's exposition has vastly increased disbwashing an excessive grimness, a dispropor-The Prospect Before Her is ad- chores: Before this, wooden or tionate emphasis on the hardship of its balancing assurances and satisfactions. While the externals are well-established, the soul is often nation is completely missed.

Straight-Faced Sisters

Cumille Paglia

THE PROSPECT BEFORE HER: A History of Women in Western Europe, Volume One 1500-1800 By Olwen Hulton knopf, 639pp, \$35

names, the favourite being Miss pregnancy."

on 18th-century France. Her new book is the first of two volumes on learn, in addition to cleaning and women in Western Europe over the | scouring pots and pans, skills such past 500 years. Here she covers the as pickling, making, salting, preservneriod from 1500 to 1800 and uses the technique of comparative social history to suggest parallels and byres milking cows and goats and in interconnections among nations.

precedented. However, Hufton less interested in the individual per- stamina" was crucial for toting coal, sonalities of notable women and enormously expands the amount of tableware was introduced in the factual data about the lives of work- 17th century, scullery maids did ing-class and middle-class women.

mirably written in clear, accessible prose. Except for a faddish locution in the first chapter title ("Constructing Woman"), it is unblemished by the kind of theoretical jargon or mic books. Though the dust jacket

Hufton's feel for the specific, Olwen Hufton is professor of his- gritty realities of everyday experilory at the European University In- ence is the most appealing element stitute in Florence and the author of of this book. She has a pungent way five scholarly books, concentrating | with words: "Fleas and polluted | would "allow mankind to adopt ani- | reader.

A country girl aspiring to marry was lucky to be taken on as a local farm servant: "Here she might ing by smoking, drying, storing in the hen yard, hoeing vegetables, lay-A work of this scale is not un- ing potatoes, weeding, haymaking."

For kitchen work also, "physical wood, and water. When porcelain "cleaned with a piece of bread."

TTUFTON'S chapter on mother-L hood is particularly powerful: ideological bias that too often char- "In every noble household and in acterizes recent feminist and acade- the lowliest cottage, a birth was a collective drama, and the room of describes her as "the architect and the birth was living theatre." She solidarity expressed itself."

Because animals' milk was not

ILLUSTRATION, CHRISTOPHER BIN

Non-flction Hardcovers

Witnessing America: The Library of Congress Book of **Firsthand Accounts of Life in** America 1600-1900, complied and edited by Noel Rae (Penguin/Stonesong, \$29.95).

THIS IS demotic history, the L reminiscences of ordinary – and occasionally extraordinary --Americans about their occupations, recreations, wooing and other interests. Among the entries is selfappointed New York vice-buster Anthony Comstock's account of his vendetta against a bawdy house in which lewd dancing was the main drawing card. After witnessing the act himself, he mused, "Here is an exhibition given by women that beggars description — so gross that even a reference to it brings a blush. - Shall it continue? No! no! By all that is in us as men, no!" The ensuing criminal case against the exhibitionists was thrown out, however, because to prosecute it would have

Aftermath: The Remnants of

NX / ORLD WAR 1 ended nearly Weight decades ago, but its specter is still very much with us According to the French Interior Ministry, "12 million unexploded shells from that conflict still sleep in the soil near Verdun, Millions more await discovery in the World War I battle zones along the rivers Marne and Somme." Add to that the ordnance left over from World War II and the explosive magnitude of the problem begins to emerge. "Everywhere in France — in potato field and orchards, under town squareand back porches — the fallout from two world wars has turned the soil into an enormous booby trap," Webster explores the bitter legacy of war around the world: in France: French culture, are less successful. in Russia, where acres of hours recall the carnage of Stalingrad, in Vietnam, Kuwait, even Nevada, which still carries the radioactive legacy of the nuclear testing of the 1950s. Altermath is a sobering regrease or brine, working in the the brilliant Parisian salons ruled by minder that the effects of war linger long after peace is concluded.

> **Dressed to Klil: James Bond.** the Sulted Hero (Flammarion, 845, distributed by Abbeville Press).

NTOBODY epitomizes the cool 1 Style of master spy James Bond better than the original cinematic pewter platters had simply been premodern life with little sense of 007, Sean Connery. As Jay McInerney says in one of the essays in this book, "Connery's wardrobe in the first four films, shot between '62 missing from Hufton's portraits. | and '65, would look perfect in al-Most seriously, she seems to lack most any setting in 1995: the trim sympathy for or deep understand- two-button suit in grey and blue ing of religious feeling. We hear of with side vents, the white or light misogynistic Bible stories, officious | blue shirt with spread collar and the first head of the Women's Studies stresses "the public character of the church edicts and charming folk black silk knit tie." Dressed To Kill denned "goose-pulling tourna- Program at Harvard," where she birthing process," which was superstitions, but Christianity's also features chapters on the world massive hold on the popular imagi- of 007 and on Bond's style secrets, and a plea for "The Return of the The period illustrations are excel- Suited Hero." Among the other tidlent, as are the 97 pages of notes | bits presented here: that Bond's credeemed healthful for infants, afflu- and topical bibliography, However, ator, Ian Fleming, was himself a modern period, biology has to count ent children (including Jane Austen) there is a dismaying concentration clotheshorse, whose favorite be-Court records of prostitutes ar- for something. No one, for example, were sent out to stay with a wet- on publications of the last 20 years. spoke suit was "a navy blue, threerested in London between 1733 and could plough a five-inch furrow in a nurse, who ideally had capacious. Despite these problems, The button, three-piece in lightweight 1739 show that "many gave false | condition of advanced or even early "box-shaped breasts." Tight swad- Prospect Before Her is a solid, sub- worsted." The idea for this book dling of newborns was practiced stantial, levelheaded work that be- took shape when the tailoring firm from antiquity to the 17th century: | longs on the reading list of all Brioni of Rome was doing research Immobilization was thought to form modern history courses and that on the evolution of James Bond's and straighten the limbs. Infants will provide edification and reward- style, in preparation for outfitting were not permitted to crawl, since it ing surprises for the curious, casual | Pierce Brosnan as 007 in the latest Bond flick, Goldeneye,

1842

5000

P.O. Box 6200 Etterstad, N-0602 Oslo before January 15, 1997.



An original eve for wit

ILLIE RUSHTON, who has died aged 59 after complications arising from heart surgery, looked the very pic-ture of an easygoing bon viveur. He had a well-marinated voice and a taste for loud checks to go with his figure. But he was never so uncomplicated. Among his many gifts was an extremely sharp wit which became all the more devastating when something annoyed him. He had the convictions of a satirist although he never made a point of parading them, and an acute eye for the ridiculous which was as easily applied to his acting and cartoon work as to the rapid fire of I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue, the BBC radio programme he

William George Rushton was born the son of a publisher. He was sent to Shrewsbury public school where he met and befriended Richard Ingrams. Also at Shrewsbury were the young Christopher Booker and Paul Fool. But it was Ingrams and Rushton who hit it off immediately and together they founded the Wallopian, a satirical version of the school magazine which was adorned by Rushton's carly drawings and was to be a precursor of Private Eye. Rushton's other talents began to show at Shrewsbury, the first of which was

His was the last generation to do National Service which he regarded came to represent to him all that

Milligan's The Bedsitting Room. | wealthy man. Kenneth Tynan described his per-

Unlike Ingrams and Foot, he view collectors' items. never went to Oxford, at least not



as a privilege because the Army | Willie Rushton pictures himself as Cuba held by Fidel Castro

was absurd and posturing about and both subsequently gave up the tensely private himself and once post-war Britain. He was never one | booze, Rushton because he devel- | said: "I don't think because I appear for respecting authority, but in the oped diabetes in the early 1980s. He on TV, it gives people the right to ordinary soldier. Rushton found a | lost weight and found to his delight | shout out to me in the street or pull wit and resentment which he truly | that a tectotal life gave him a lot | me about in public." He felt for more time for drawing and commer- other peoples' privacies that had His acting break came in Spike | cial voice-overs. These made him a | been invaded.

parts followed in film, and TV, most | Rushton's cartoons which supplied notably in That Was The Week That the magazine's distinctive look. He weekly impersonation of Harold nation with incidental detail which made his covers for the Literary Re-

Like his friend Peter Cook, who | They had three sons. formally, but he was up there often died last year, he had only to walk enough to see Ingrams and to help | into the room for people to enjoy | Henry Porter with the magazine Parson's Plea- themselves. He was very funny but sure, which was to be the immedi- he was also generous with his own William George Rushton, actor, ale forebear of Private Eye. They laughter and never felt the need to author and cartoonist, born August both drank copiously in those days | dominate a gathering. He was in- | 18, 1937; died December 11, 1996

His greatest pleasure was draw- | traordinary range of talents that so formance as brilliant, a remark ing, and in the early issues of many in radio and newspapers, the Merry Christmas, Mr Lawrence. which Rushton hoped would be in- Private Eye, founded by Ingrams, theatre, publishing and particularly news of his early death. It was so unexpected. He was a big part of all Was where Rushton performed a had a line all of his own and a fasci- their lives and they will miss his generosity and his wit.

Arlene, whom he married in 1968.

Enemy of the ad men

ANCE PACKARD, whose bestwilling books of popularised sociology developed a powerful critique of America's post-war consumer culture and warned against the alarming influence of advertising, has died at the age of 82. His hest-known book was The Hidden by advertisers exploiting the post- lar way.

quacy, selling Campbell's soups not tically readable style. simply as nourishment, but as "good" food that echoed the comforts of the maternal breast.

way Detroit marketed cars to men as if they were high-powered, barely tameable mistresses, the book made the pungent point that political can-Persuaders (1957), a highly read- didates like General Eisenhower able study of the use of psychology were beginning to be sold in a simi-

In 1959, his book The Status He drew heavily on Ernest Seekers was an intriguing study of hedonism. The Sexual Wilderness Packard went to college. Dictor's school of motivational re- that American class system whose (1968) challenged the fashion for In 1952, he gave up journalism to Vance Packard, writer, born May 22, search to show that advertisers very existence American political free love in a society thrilling to the write books full-time and moved to 1914; died December 12, 1996

world of New England private schools to the pews of the Episco- ity of monoganious marriage. were increasingly trying to target palian church, Packard explored the He was essentially an old-fash-

The Waste Makers (1960) explored the new corporate device of planned obsolescence, of manufac-Packed with anecdotes about the | turing products with a limited life and deploying marketing strategies that would lure consumers to buy the latest model.

His later books made less impact, as they began to criticise not only comorate culture; but the increasing self-indulgence of an American

Laurens van der Post

AURENS van der Post, who has died aged 90, was a man of many achievements, public and private. He was an Afrikaner and, by long residence and cultural familiarity, also a European. He had been a soldier - and a prisoner-ofwar who discovered and preached forgiveness for his enemies. He was a farmer who became a writer, a journalist and an internationally successful novelist and film-maker.

He was born in the Orange Free state, 13th of 15 cluklren of a distinguished Afrikaner family and was brought up on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. At 17, he became a iournalist in Durban. At 20, he first visited Japan, in the company of magnificent Captain Katsue Mori, a antness, Japan was to be more important in van der Post's life than he could have imagined, and he and Piomer both later wrote about that journey — with fascinating discrepancies in the reportage.

appears to have been difficult. Van | William was the only public chie. der Post married Marjorie Wendt in missioned.

in the Western Desert and Burma, finally in Java, where he was capthree years. It was the turning point It is a testament to Rushton's ex- | of his life. The Seed And The Sower (1963) eventually became the film

The Dark Eye In Africa (1955), a write before the war, signalled his Post's writings, so often autobio-William Rushton leaves a wife, graphical, cover only some of the episodes in his long life.

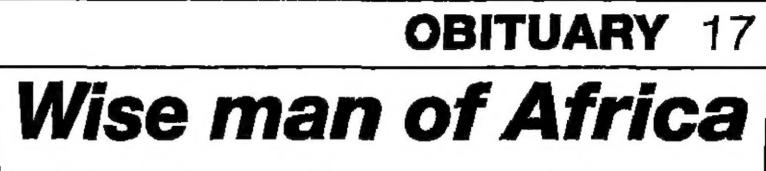
Eventually - long after the war had ended - he returned to Britain, quit the Army, set off again for Africa and for a new career as writer-explorer. In 1949, he married Sir Laurens van der Post, writer, and analyst who introduced him to Carl died December 15, 1996

culture likes to deny. From the easy contraception of the Pill, and the rural retreat of New Canaan. He

for an environment that had disappeared traumatically in his own boyhood, when his father had to sell the failing family dairy form in 1924.

He was born and traised in rural Pennsylvania, by a mother who gave up her school-leaching job to raise the children and who kept a strict Methodist household of frugality and temperance.

His father got a job in the agriculture school of Pennsylvania state society that was getting hooked on university, where young Vance Martin Walker



Gustav Jung in Zurich. Jung became a lifelong friend

Van der Post's literary reputation took off with the publication of Venture To The Interior in 1952, his account of an journey to Nyasaland. The book continues to attract plaudits for its poetic sensibility and profound insights into Africa, even as it is criticised for its inflation of a simple central African journey. Van der Post never looked back.

In the 1950s he had made journeys to the Kalahari with spin-off television documentaries. These were later to attract criticism from anthropologists, though laymen better remembered van der Post's love of the doomed Bushmen.

Van der Post was also a man of public affairs, which he conducted privately. His contacts and friend-William Plomer and as guest of the ships in southern Africa were considerable, as they were elsewhere, mercantile officer whom van der | and this brought him roles in the Post protected from racial unpleas- dramas of the past 30 years, many of which still remain unreported.

He often chose to conceal his continuing fight against apartheid in its darkest days, just as he was totally discreet about his role as sage and counsellor to the Royal Family. Thereafter, the pre-war period | that he was godfather to Prince

As the years passed van der South Africa in 1928. They had two Post's books became increasingly children. He came to London, then autobiographical, reflective and returned to South Africa to work on impstical. He followed events in the Cape Times, then came back to | South Africa intensely, and contin-Britain. He also wrote his first used to be a frequent visitor; his symnovel, In A Province, which was pathies — for Chief Gatsha published by Leonard and Virginia Buthelezi, for instance - were Woolf's Hogarth Press in 1934. This rarely in line with current fashion, was one of the earliest fictional in- just as his opposition to sanctions dictments by an Afrikaner of what did not assure him the approval of was to become apartheid; but van | many Guardian readers. None of der Post had not yet come into his this should suggest that he ever had own. When war broke out, he imme- the slightest sympathy for apartdiately enlisted and was soon com- heid: on the contrary, he was from his youth a passionate and instinc-He served first in Ethiopia, then tive enemy of racialism. But he was born a member of the Afrikaner Establishment and could never resign. tured by the Japanese, to be held for | He was for ever a White African, yet he spent most of his life outside South Africa.

He developed to a fine art a wonderful African gift for public story-telling. He became the wise scribed on his gravestone. Other | Booker and Rushton in 1961, it was | in Private Eye were shocked by the | meditation which he had begun to | old man of African - a Jungian and also universal - archetype, and as renewed interest in the problems of | such he, and his memory, will surhis own continent. But van der vive the occasional sceptic and his few detractors.

He is survived by his wife Ingaret, a daughter, Lucia, and six grandchildren.

J D F Jones

again to Ingaret Giffard, a Jungian explorer, born December 13, 1908;

stressed the social and personal util- spent his summers in the similar idvil of Martha's Vineyard.

He became one of the most influthe consumer's sense of inade- WASP establishment in characteris- ioned American moralist, nostalgic ential cultural critics of his day because he relished American abundance and prosperity, but wanted to enjoy it on his own terms, which meant recognising the dangers of abandoning the traditional verifies of family stability and products that last a lifetime.

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1.1.1.1

The phrase by which he is likely to be remembered is the conclusion to The Hidden Persuaders: "We can choose not to be persuaded."

18 **ESSAY**

Yasmin Allbhai-Brown argues that the failure of anti-racist laws and campaigns leaves Britain in need of a radical new approach to multiculturalism

Black looks and white lies

WORD MOTORS in Britain | swer the question: "What makes cused of tacitly condoning al- | come here?" legedly racist practices in the company. Or as my forthright black we have just seen a particularly drafriend Godfrey, who used to work matic illustration of alleged racist there, puts it: "They have been | behaviour by a large organisation. caught again with their pants down, pissing on blacks."

In February, Ford paid £1,500 to discovered that their faces in a images of white people. The comtrative error".

tribunal heard that although 40 per cent of Ford workers are black or | iceberg" of corporate racism. Asian, most of them cannot get élite

tected: others don't care. Even | comes of \$123,098. editors or regular commentators.

There is, thus far, one civil ser- obvious manifestation of failure? you care to look.

Recent figures from the Office for National Statistics show that levels of unemployment among blacks, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Inted at great expense by various | can vote for them. Money must rot | does not herald springtime for all | ethnic minorities". Britain are three times higher than | British forces for over 13 years now. | not only conscience, but the instinct | blacks. for whites. Other studies reveal that It has made no difference to the for self-preservation. But even if we ethnic minorities are overtaking well-documented racism within the get a change of government which volatile for everyone. Once there nation; as people who fought and whites in educational achievements. police force, the deaths of black has greater political commitment, You cannot win. Many of us - even | men in custody or the lack of trust | without other transformations this | blacks and equal opportunities did | it instead of being seen as interlop die-hard socialists - made the diffi- that exists between the police and will be inadequate to deal with a cult and expensive decision to put | black and Asian communities. our children into top private schools then bypass racism.

has (once again) been ac- you think someone like you can

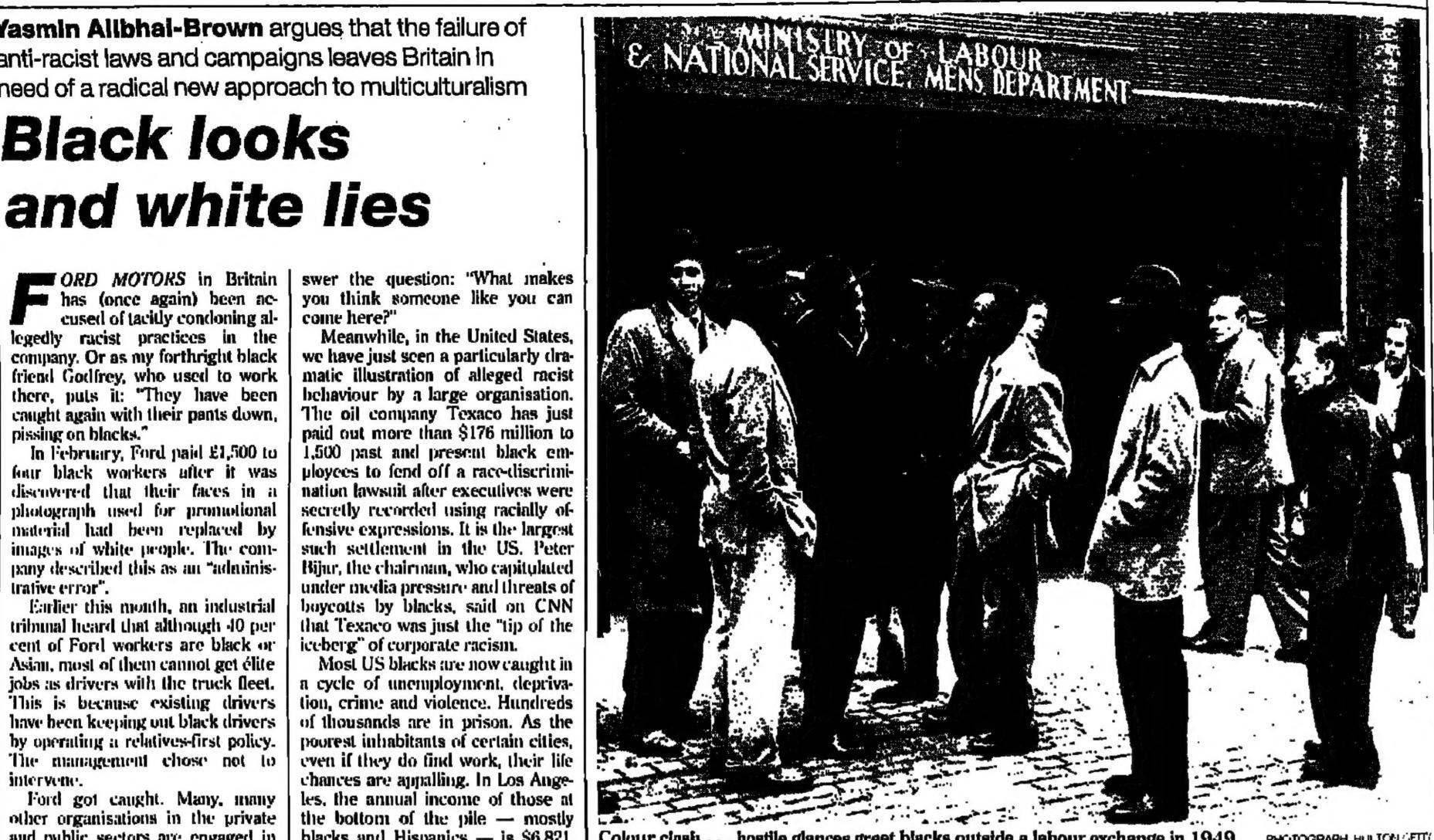
Meanwhile, in the United States, The oil company Texaco has just paid out more than \$176 million to 1,500 past and present black emfour black workers after it was ployees to fend off a race-discrimination lawsuit after executives were photograph used for promotional | secretly recorded using racially ofmaterial had been replaced by fensive expressions. It is the largest such settlement in the US. Peter pany described this as an "adminis- Bijur, the chairman, who capitulated under media pressure and threats of Earlier this month, an industrial boycotts by blacks, said on CNN that Texaco was just the "tip of the

Most US blacks are now caught in jobs as drivers with the truck fleet. a cycle of unemployment, depriva-This is because existing drivers | tion, crime and violence. Hundreds have been keeping out black drivers of thousands are in prison. As the by operating a relatives-first policy. poorest inhabitants of certain cities, other organisations in the private the bottom of the pile - mostly similar subterranean discriminatory The top fifth of these ethnic groups

recruit staff, columnists and com- civil rights movement, and race rela- ham plant and provide this training. American professor of law, wrote re- black and Asian separatists only missioning editors largely through tions legislation in both countries, is informal networks and (so I am this it? What does this say about with a group of all-white supervisors and the labour movement, became a Without regaining the support of told) at those frightfully exclusive | race relations in Britain and the US? | who listened with indifference | model of social change in America: | white liberals, the fight against north London dinner parties. No And most important of all, how on and/or contempt as I tried to ex- a model of organised demand, ob- racism is for ever lost. wonder that Britain still has fewer | earth do those who have been cajol- | plain the law and why equal oppor- | durate resistance and little meaningthan 30 ethnic-minority staff jour- ing, persuading, training, educating tunities was good for the company. ful change." In Britain, too, race I E E NEED to re-define connalists out of 5,000 and as yet no and threatening organisations to They listened; then Bill, the one equality work is more or less extinct - cepts, too, as a matter of shape up for decades respond to this with very thick wrists and rock-hard in many areas.

vant above Grade Five (and he is a It is time now for a radical re- lady, I have nothing against real progress on race equality, we everyone else but white English race adviser), pitifully few judges, think on the equality strategies that, coloureds. They work here, same as will need to make more of an effort people. The British identity faces business board or quango members | have been promoted for so long that | us. And good luck to them, I say. | to understand how complex the pic- | enormous anxieties because people or hospital consultants, even though they have almost entered the food But they can speak English as good ture is and make a moral case for feel it is under threat from Europe 25 per cent of health service doctors | chain. In fact, one of the first actions | as you, they can try, but they will | equality. Although the evidence of | and from within by minority groups. are from the ethnic minorities. Last taken by Texaco since its public hu- never be one of us. Never. They can persistent racial discrimination is These anxieties need to be taken seyear the Commission for Racial miliation has been to buy in "diver- never be British," These are the atti- indisputable, unimaginable develop- riously by ethnic minorities and the Equality backed individual com- sity and sensitivity" training. Other tudes that underpin what is going ments have also taken place. plaints against local authorities, em- companies, such as Chase Manhat- on at Ford, Texaco and elsewhere. ployment agencies, security and tan and Columbia Gas, are scurry. These attitudes can never be pol- public figure in the US today. Mid- rather pathetic vision of a Britain financial services and solicitors. ing around auditing their own ished away simply with equal oppor- dle-class blacks there are among full of cricket pitches and church-Diane Abbott, the Labour MP, ex- ethnic profiles. We have settled too tunity policies or even the more the most powerful, influential and going maids on bicycles, but where pressed it crudely, but she was right comfortably into the consensus that punitive legal machinery in the US. successful people of colour in the is the alternative dream? One which to point out the discrimination faced things will and can get better with by long-serving black staff in the policies, training, tougher and more National Health Service. The Prison effective laws. It is trying to crush a ley and Lord Lester of Herne garded black individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- And finally, without a signate the service of Herne and Back individuals in broad- Back individuals indidividuals individuals individuals individuals individ Service had to pay out a record hard nut with tweezers. All this may Hill believe passionately that casting, entertainment and sports. shift in attitudes, nothing real and £28,500 to a black auxiliary officer indeed be necessary, but even they much more can be changed with for injury to feelings. And the same can only tinker with the system or real political will which has not been plain to people - especially white Bhikhu Parekh, ex-deputy chair attitudes can be found in the City, get through some minimal changes. forthcoming from the present the Royal Mail, almost anywhere | Some believe they can actually help | British government. In fact this has to disguise racist attitudes and be- been yet another abysmal failure progress and regression can co- what is now needed is "respect and haviour. The police are an excellent that one can freely attribute to the exist and that they do not cancel recognition which go beyond equal example of this.

believing foolishly that we would ready invested huge amounts of landscapes that have overtaken not content to stay in their allocated pervisor at Ford might just begin to time and money in developing equal This year, a study showed many opportunity strategies. Texaco had of these talented, bright children — an affirmative-action policy in place my own son among them - had to and special scholarship for blacks unlikely to shift hearts and minds. ethnic minorities. The new "conser- Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, a fellow face overtily discriminatory behav- and other visible minorities. Ford They may even make people more vative" agenda on both sides of the at the institute for Public Policy iour at Oxbridge Interviews. Like was one of the first big companies determined to discriminate or ex- Atlantic means that there is now a Research. Is the author of No Place many others, his surname provided in Briain to bring in equal opportu- clude, or join the backlash. This is fashionable and convenient rejec- Like Home (Virago), on the Ugandan some merriment and he failed to an- nity training more than a decade | certainly happening in the US. In | tion of victimhood from those who | Asian experience



practices. Most carry on unde- in the same city have average in- back. In fact, I worked then for a November, California voted to ban were considered the natural congovernment-funded agency which national newspapers, for example, Thirty years or more after the was recruited to go into the Dagen- ment posts. As Maurice Franks, an rights. Vociferous and dangerous I remember sitting in a circle, cently: "The civil rights movement, make such disengagement easier. face, slowly pronounced: "Look



Conservatives. I fail to understand | each other out. One mellifluous TV | opportunity and call for a profound Anti-racist training has been insti- how so many of my Aslan brethren newsreader like Trevor McDonald change in white society's attitude to problem which is so influenced by | does, because of downsizing and be- | for privileges which are not ours by Both Ford and Texaco have al- the changing social and economic both countries.

It is also now obvious that coer-



and public sectors are engaged in | blacks and Hispanics — is \$6,821. | Colour clash ... hostile glances greet blacks outside a labour exchange in 1949 PHOTOGRAPH HULTON GETT

gender and race quotas in govern-) stituency of support for minority

If there is to be any lasting and turalism has for too long meant

Colin Powell is the most popular There is nothing in John Major's world. In Britain, Asian millionaires includes and delights in the result-

We will have to find a way to ex- lasting can be achieved. Professor people who have lost out in these man of the Council for Racial Equal-

were enough low-grade jobs for | died for it, who have helped to build not mean a zero-sum game. Now it ers making impertinent demands places.

cion or even economic threats are now facing real competition from

some urgency. Multiculpolitical leadership.

And finally, without a significant hard times - that the forces of ity, is spot on when he says that

It is only when this happens that Life is more unpredictable and we will be accepted as a part of the cause black and Asian people are right. Then, maybe, that surly suunderstand why he should behave Middle-class white people are more fairly towards "coloureds".

GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 22 1998 THEATRE Michael Billington

GUARDIAN WEEKI Y

December 22 1998

E E E ARE often told that we live in a visual culture. dramatists, who are utterly obproof is Jim Cartwright's I Licked Theatre Upstairs, London) which, running only 50 minutes, is a piece | the crying need for company. If it | lies at the heart of David Schnelof word-drunk, jagged poetry about desolation and solitude.

Cartwright's play is tough and bleak. He presents us with Man and Slag, a helpless misfit and a crackaddicted whore. The Man is strangely drawn to Slag's world. He not only licks her deodorant but sits in her tatty pad with a stripper's scented bra over his eyes. But when he is slashed and beaten by her pimp and supplier, and left in the street with a bucket over his head. she takes him back home. They end up in a parody marriage with him living under the bed, anidst the fluff-balls and condoms, listening to her professional couplings.

What Cartwright is saying is not startlingly original: that people living at the extreme edge of solitude are drawn together by necessity. But he views society's discards without a hint of condescension but with an astonishing, almost negligent poetry. The play is primarily a linguislic experience in which Cartwright paints pictures through words: as the Man describes a corpse, "covered in dust and beetles", being removed from the upstairs room, or the Slag

in the number of art thefts

A AORE than 2,000 works of art ing too many questions." and Rembrandt, are missing, many | after approaches from Japanese | his flight to Orlando. Jill Dando, | couldn't open a milk carton. stolen, as criminals target the art banks, which are holding millions of dressed as a stewardess, flashed In The Verdict (BBC2) Mr Jusworld to launder money from drug pounds' worth of paintings taken as her fine teeth. deals and fraud.

Register reveals the enormous num- gone bankrupt because of the coun- holiday programme presenters ber of missing masterpieces and a try's recession and property-fraud swan around the world at our of priorities, asked the crucial quesrapid increase in art theft. This year | scandal. the register has been notified of "It would be important for a bank (BBC1) is a useful escape valve. 1,400 stolen works of art and antiques a month, compared with 400 | art," Mr Emson said. a month in 1993.

Picasso heads the list in terms of painter's works are missing, includ- details of items ranging from masing the oil painting Ace Of Clubs | terpieces such as Crying Lady With | rival. "What do I call you?" he asked and the watercolour El Christo De | A Cat by Miró to pieces of silver-Montmartre, both stolen from galleries in Switzerland. Ace Of Clubs | places ripped out of stately homes. is valued at £500,000.

More than 200 of his works are in 1991, the bulk of it in the past 18 missing. Other artists in the top 10 months. Include Joan Miró, with more than 200 missing works, Albrecht Dürer, drug-trafficking cartels or paramili- looking up at the screen. You think, this passion when he became a ing paintings, and David Hockney, hold on to stolen works for many watching. with 45 missing works.

Sea Of Galilee, stolen in 1990, was making It difficult to trace them. his only known seascape,

noted people that are missing," said for Valuers and Auctioneers.

Rock 'n' roll on

Indian takeaway", the images seem tangible, precise and resonant.

I've no doubt the play will be linked with other recent excursions into low-life desperation such as Shopping And Fucking or even the stage version of Trainspotting. Both, to me, smacked of deliberate shock tactics: there was an element far you could go. But what distin-A Slag's Deodorant (Royal Court | guishes Cartwright's play is its sense of sadness and recognition of has a fault, it is that it sometimes | der's The Eleventh Command-

almost too rehearsed

ited acting of Polly Hemingway as tims to Hitler," In the end the play mother-substitutes and prey to labial and olfactory obsessions.

A fascination with language a



evokes her flat, "the carpet like an | Jeffrey Segal gives David Schneider the chop FHOTO: FICHARD MIDENHALL | achieves the real potential for poetry.

falls into patterned phrases: at one point, the Slag reveals her hatred of Theatre, a first play by a young men by reeling off a racist litany of actor-comedian. The hero is a 30clients, starting with "kinky Chinks year-old Jewish estate agent who, taking ages to come", that seems like Cartwright's protagonist, is mother-dominated and has difficul-But Cartwright certainly proves | ties with girls. But when he falls for that our young writers are devoted an Ulster-born TV reporter and wordsmiths. His own production threatens to marry out, he breaks also achieves an exhilarating sen- the titular commandment: "Thou sory urgency thanks to the uninhib- shalt not give any posthumous victhe aching Slag, and of Tim Potter | a straightforward plea for Judaism of testing the audience to see how | as the Oedipal client clearly seeking | to shed its obsession with the past and adopt a constructive attitude to nter-marriage.

Schneider writes, and plays the lead character, with obvious sincerity. But in his case the linguistic obsession manifests itself in a comnulsion to round out every scene with a punchline as if we were watching a series of comic sketches. the moment when the girlfriend, envisioning the possibility of mixed Jewish-Ulster Protestant children, dubs them Jaffa Oranges.

The play's saving graces are its liberal stance and the quality of its performance. Sheila Steafel is outstanding as the Jewish mum who argues, with passionate conviction, that marriage to a shiksa is a form of relationship between architecthrough the bedelothes, while the **the piece the choreography's** here is stremtously trying to make | function seems solely to draw love, she manages to retain a certain dignity.

ately funny message play. But you stead of letting them come to him, and allows his love of word-play to its best, as Cartwright proves, when it grows organically from character and situation rather than being stuck on in impasto style: then it

Works of art up for grabs

Kamal Ahmed on a rise | James Emson, managing director of | TELEVISION the Art Loss Register. "There appear to be plenty of low-level dealers who are willing to buy without ask-

loan security from companies. A new report from the Art Loss | Many of the companies have since | dangerous head of steam watching

not to be seen to be selling stolen

companies and loss adjusters have pressure, you noticed with interest, called Thigh Highs." numbers: nearly 300 of the Spanish been inundating the register with she whinges and he bristles. ware, furniture, jewellery, and fire- fine." "Sir?" "Sir!" On his final as- spare lady." For dinner, naturally.

Russian-born expressionist. stolen art since it began operating

years before passing them to

"I think that most members of the drugs, this is one of the most seripublic would be shocked by the ous organised criminal activities,"

All aboard with Dando

Nancy Banks-Smith

It is easy to build up quite a morrow I start a murder."

In the past year, police, insurance | entertainer on a cruise liner. Under

Kevin's lowest point was his arsesament Attitude To Authority was

out at all?") and, once they were out, unseemly scenes at Upton Park.) "After the importation of illegal | she couldn't put them back ("I'm trolley. ("I'm starting to panic now. | gardener lives there."

There's too much to think about ... The computer . . . the credit card swipes. They're £9.99. No, they're not. They're £4.99. Alison! I'm press-GVOU get all the good jobs, ing the wrong buttons here. I don't VI from some of the world's The register put together the don't you?" grumbled a know what I'm doing.") So she regreatest artists, Including Picasso | report on the world's top 150 artists | Percy Sugden sound-alike, boarding | treated to the galley. Where she

tice Hooper was off to work. "To-

A cool customer, constable. David Rose, who has a firm grasp expense. Fasten Your Seatbelt | tion: "How do you keep your stockings up?" The judge said he used to Jill Dando worked as an air stew- wear women's tights but they ardess and Kevin Woodford as an tended to descend with the setting sun. "I hit upon the idea of what are

His clerk, who looks like a superior butler, buys them from Debenhams and has other unexpected the entertainments officer. "Sir's duties. "Sometimes I arrange a To the right . . .

Judges are believed to be remote. The register has been involved in | left empty. His finest hour was a ren- | Like ducks on a pond, they seem to Close behind is Marc Chagall, the recovery of £25 million worth of dition of Great Balls Of Fire. I would be in life, not of it. Like ducks, there pect that all the choreography describe it as pretty dashed brave. is something inherently amusing Jill was not gruntled to discover | about them. Judge Goldstein lists Art thieves, often connected to got their headphones on, they're he seriously considered giving up Rembrandt, Salvador Dali and Andy tary organisations in Northern Ire- Tm a human being here. Hellol" In Judge, "In case some row might, Warhol, all with more than 100 miss- land and the Irish Republic, may this she was mistaken. They were break out at the table, which would be unseemly." I had no idea bridge | cais, Bulgarian women's choir Many of the paintings are price- trusted dealers. The items are then the trolley ("Why are they all com- been a West Ham fan from a boy of people posing. Ultimately it less - Rembrandt's Storm On The sold on through a web of agents, ing out together? Oh, I can't get that and doesn't seem to worry about

Judge Tucker explained reassurgoing to get someone to help me. I ingly how judges have their finger can't do it.") She was spectacularly on the public pulse: "I happen to live



ARTS 19

The show's the thing

DANCE **Judith Mackrell**

OLOUR and light play over U the stark white set of Bunty Matthias's show Viewpoint like sunshine and moonlight over a tiny Greek village. The stage is dominated by two crenellated staircases, and when a peachy glow radiates behind them it's like dawn rising in a violet sky.

Moments later, a white noon day light etches their shadows into lines of steel, or a blue dusk suspends them in mystery. The It's a quip-hungry play typified by | lighting flicks again and a stormy purple charges the stage with electricity. This show at the Queen Elizabeth Hall is one of the best-designed in London.

Matthias and Annabel Haydn commissioned their act and lighting (from Wells Mackereth Architects and Mark Ridler) because they wanted to explore the betrayal. Even when she pops up ture and dance. But for much of attention to the design.

The dancers glide up and Schneider has written a moder- | down the stairs and flex into moves that echo the angles of the feel he often pursues the jokes in- | set. As the stairs are wheeled hetween positions, the dancers too perform their steps back to front dominate the action. Language is at | or in reverse. They speed up or slow down in response to the lighting's mood changes, and only sometimes do they luxuriate in their own more curvy human shapes, or kick around in the empty spaces of the set.

Audiences with a passion for visuals may find that the shapes made by the dancers' bodies are enough to please. The performers are good-looking and the choreography has moments of deft composition. But as dance it. is disappointingly empty. With every line and gesture

looking as if they have been cal-



Warning to a Par. design wins over PHOTO: HENRIETTA BUTLER content

culated for visual effect, you suswas created in front of a mirror. It rarely carries an emotional or that nobody looked at her. "They've | only one club, his bridge club. Yet | erotic charge, and it rarely sings with its own silent music.

In fact, as the dancers dip and bend to Noel Watson's fashionable collage acore (female vo-She couldn't get the trays out of was so inflammatory. (He has also and electric guitar), the effect is feels as uncomfortable as trying to eat in an over-designed restaurant. You feel as if you've been stranded in a room where people's only purpose is to blend number of works of art by such said Nicholas Somers of the Society null and void about the duty-free very close to a council estate. My in with the decor - not to satisfy any messier human desires.

Eminent Victorians: the public and private lives of three literary spirits who shaped an age of worries and wonders

Sage or snob?

Stefan Collini A Life of Matthew Arnold by Nicholas Murray Hodder & Stoughton 400pp £20

OY HATTERSLEY (among others) has proposed a good dose of Matthew Arnold as a forthright remedy for some of our present discontents. Maybe he's right. But before reaching for our copies of Culture And Anarchy or reading "Dover Beach", it is worth reflecting on how Arnold's famous achievements as poet and cultural essayist were bound up with mechanisms of celebrity which are actually very different from those we are tamiliar with.

For Arnold (1822-88) was not to natural medium was 10,000 words of uninterrupted print stretching h now seem somewhat leisurely perhis distinctive tone and perspective ³ time to do their work. They were often the product of the many successful lectures — on such not obviously compelling subjects as "the Persian Passion Play" - which Acnold gave in Britain and America. That particular lecture drew an audience of 900 to the Masonic Hall in Birmingham in 1871, with 200 being turned away.

published just because one has sorties into cultural debate.



Come into my parlour dear Ellot and Matthew Arnold

become a person whose opinions are published.

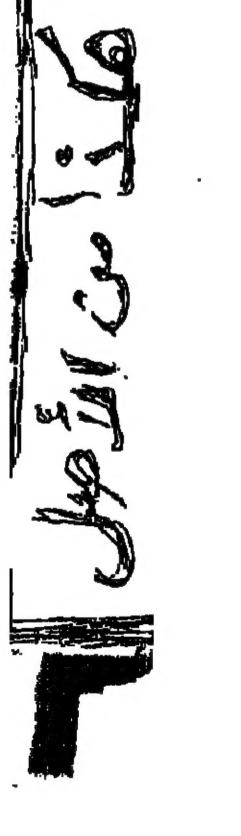
Some of Arnold's most widely be spacezed in to the last few min- cited later pieces surely reveal the more bent on pleasure than on utes of Newsnight or made the sub- corrosion of fame at work, and the exam-passing. As his brother re- out a clear narrative, and a few ject of a pertly familiar "profile": his balance tips too far towards head- called much later: "He read a little splurges of incidental detail; the Bakewell's straightforward, chewy masterly complacency. But in his hest work in the 1860s, when the esacross the illustration-free pages of | says that became his most enduring | the with the dressy men." Falling in | theological debates in Oxford, and the great quarterly and monthly re- books like Essays In Criticism and views of the time. These essays can | Culture And Anarchy were written. Arould brought off this delicate balformances, but their amplitude gave ancing act with great virtuosity. Yet it is also true that of all the eminent Victorians, Arnold seems to have an unrivalled capacity still to get up people's noses.

UT THEN, is that such a **bad** quality in a cultural critic? Nicholas Murray's A making him at once wry and re-Life Of Matthew Arnold is a read- solved, keeps breaking through in photographs he took in dim rooms". able and unoretentious biography structured around the rising curve | mersed in the business of carning Notorionsly, the danger is that | of his fame. Murray sticks close to the more a critic becomes a public | Arnold's letters, and this yields a figure, the more the quality of his | narrative that is strong on domestic | enigma. The truth surely is that the | ness," he once mused, "when he literary journalism and cultural criti- life, on Arnold's dealings with pub- name "Matthew Arnold" has becism tends to decline. The pulpits lishers, and on his never wholly suc- come a totem and a taboo. For some betakes himself, as a last and are too easily available, the congre- | cessful efforts at self-improvement gation demands a sermon whether ("How life rushes away, and youth. | fending in the inherited cultural tra- | wretched watering-place as Eastone is ready or not. This is one of One has dawdled and scrupled and dition against the depredations of bourne, and hopes to find, in the the tensions at the heart of the role | fiddle faddled - and it is all over": | fashionable relativism and commer- | tedious and depressing society of | aged man he lay awake, night after of the cultural critic or intellectual: he was 29 at the time). The chief cial tat, while for others it signifies the daughters of mistresses of night, creating mathematical probsuch figures must already have limitation of this somewhat narrow precisely the elitism and outworn boarding-schools, the happiness he lems rather than confronting the some kind of reputation if they are focus is that there is too little on the snobbery that still blight cultural has failed to find elsewhere." Dodg- true colours of his emotions. H to be invited to speak with authority intellectual and social context, and discussion. Getting beyond the label son and Humbert tread the same turned his back on his secret garon matters of general interest, but in with such a constantly polemical au- and reading the man himself is to line between coarseness and deli- den, and though we may stand, like the end there is something self- thor as Arnold this makes it hard to defeating in having one's opinions recapture the point of his various ous and more radical than either of ses and quotation marks and biographers will never find a golden

account of Arnold as an undergraduate at Oxford in the early 1840s, his offering a "Portrait with back- tured perfectly. with the reading men, hunted a little with the fast men, and dressed a lit- the mores of bathers at Eastbourne, love in his mid-20s stirred Arnold to so on. write what is probably his best sequence of poems. The identity of the real-life original of the "Marguerite" of these poems has leased piographers ever since.

achievement was almost all behind him, and an awareness of this fact, his letters. But by then he was imenough to keep his growing family.

it indicates everything worth de-1 desperate resource, to some such discover a figure who is more vari- | cacy, with countless little parenthethese stereotypes allows.



Spasms of piety behind the zeitgeist

James Wood George Eliot: A Life by Rosemary Ashton Hamish Hamilton 465pp £25

Whomanist, and thus an oddity in was self-deprecating about her almost entirely masculine. One of two spent a lot of time together, English fiction. Her sense of life's looks and given to spasms of piety those men was George Henry reading aloud, writing, wailing, visit- animates George Eliot as no previ essential raggedness - the moral (in her fiction these would become Lewes, with whom Eliot probably ing galleries, travelling on the Conti- ous biographer has quite done; so bumble which her fiction condemns | spasms of wisdom) and forgives - was reached But four years later, she told her tures - in 1853. Lewes was one of long evenings in which we read it seems less a body of research century writer.

blasta in Fligt's difficult adalas. I upon the facts of his life

cence ther mother died when she most dishonourable to God and was 17), a plain, fiercely ratiocinative girl who used her prim ascetic individual and social happiness," evangelical faith as, in part, a protection against a worldliness which | facto editor of the Westminster Rewould not have her. At 18, and run- | view, and began to write powerful EORGE ELIOT is a systematic in ing her father's household, she essays. Her intellectual circle was

through clean rigour. Her imagina- father that she would no longer ac- those Victorian engines running on Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine and than an organ of fiction. Ashton's tion was, as it were, cork-lined and company him to church. Her life of the invisible fuel of the zeitgeist. He Macaulay, with German Pffer- book reads like an exciting and soundproofed: she had the most free-thinking rebellion had begun. wrote about science, about philo- kuchen and Semmels (gingerbread barely credible Victorian novel thoroughly intellectual mind of any She had been reading new biblical sophy, about developments in Ger- and rolls) at the end", wrote Eliot of English novelist. But she also lived criticism, and a month later she man thought, about Spanish drama. their evenings in Berlia during the one of the boldest lives of any 19th wrote to her father, a cool 22-year- He read a fistful of languages, was a old: "I regard these writings [the | rawer free-thinker than Eliot. He Resemary Ashton's fine biogra- Bible as histories consisting of was unhappily married; his wife had phy efficiently streamlines this life, mingled truth and fiction . . . and several children by another man. but does not stint on either Eliot's | while I admire and cherish much of intellectual development or the what I believe to have been the more together to Germany, in order to do daily struggles of her unconven- tal teaching of Jesus himself, I contional existence. She powerfully sider the system of doctrines built Goethe, thereby making public their to he l

most pernicious in its influence on

In London, she became the de began an affair - so Ashton conjec- nent: "Then came the delightful

In 1854, Eliot and Lewes travelled research for Lewes's biography of relationship On their return they I the happiness of these lowers But GUARDIAN WEEKLY December 22 1938

from left, Lewis Carroll, George

The original Humbert

Natasha Walter Lewis Carroll by Michael Bakewell Helnemann 381pp £20 Lewis Carroll: A Portrait with Background by Donald Thomas John Murray 405pp £25

HE Rev CL Dodgson had no life," wrote Virginia Woolf. But that hasn't put anyone off. Michael Bakewell's new biography, as he is clearly aware. has rather missed the boat: "This book was scheduled for publication in July 1995," he tells us plaintively, "but was held up over matters of copyright." Donald Thomas, in response to an embarrassing glut Murray's portrait gives a fetching the biography market, has tried to occupy a different niche, by calling ground". That is, a biography withnumber of prostitutes in Piccadilly.

I am grateful to Thomas, however, for repeating one quotation. Not by Dodgson himself, but by Vladimir Nabokov, who translated Alice's Adventures In Wonderland The central poignancy of Arnold's 1 into Russian in 1923. "I always call life was the drying-up of his poetic | him Lewis Carroll Carroll because gifts. By his mid-30s his poetic he was the first Humbert Humbert," Nabokov told Vogue in 1966, referring to his "wretched perver- an attempt to recreate the first flast sions and to those ambiguous

Dodgson's melancholy has the same tenor as Humbert's: an excess of despair, expressed with finicky He still remains something of an precision. "The pursuer of happi-precisely from this inability to inhas exhausted all other devices. circumlocutions that attempt to veil | key to let us in.

when Dodgson is desperately trying to find new girls to photograph naked, he is thrilled that the mother of one of the little girls he has photographed has put her "fullfront" photograph out in her drawing room - "I quite hope that picture on your drawing-room table will serve as a sort of 'decoy-duck' and reveal to you (and through you to me) other parents who possess well-made children who have a taste for being taken without the encumbrance of dress," he wrote. Hum bert's prudishness about Lolita's behaviour (no dates, no dances) chimes in with the attitudes of this other, less self-conscious paedophile. Dodgson strongly berated his child friends for any precocious he haviour. His furtive love of "little undities" is both sensual and sacral, an odd combination that Nabokov cap-

the march of desire. For instance,

But overall Thomas's biography nearly as satisfying as isu't narrative. Bakewell reminds us why these studies and biographics go on clunking off the presses. There is a void - a mystery - at the heart of Dodgson's life, and it beckons us in How did the amoral, groundbreak ing, sophisticated works that are the Alice books trip from the mind of this prudish, naive don? There is to answer, But clearly, Dodgson him self had very little purchase on the nature of the works he create When he wrote his "Nursery Alice of brilliance for a younger audience. it was as if somebody else had got hold of his pen to sensation the White King understood so well Perhaps Carroll's brilliance area quire too far into his own mind. If he had been able to reason out, as his critics attempt to, the emotional and intellectual themes that underlay Alice, he may never have dared to carry them through. As a middle Alice, peering through the door, hi

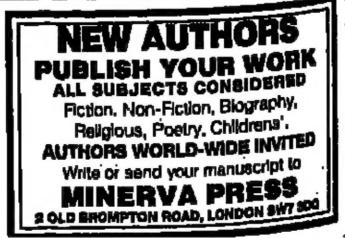
began living together as husband and wife (Lewes could not get a divorce). Society, even unconventional literary society, was unprepared for this. George Eliot was effectively barred from polite communication.

Ashton, who has also written a very good biography of Lewes. brings alive this noble relationship. Isolated from much of society, the Goethe research. Of their life in London, she wrote that she went to bed "regretting each day as it goes". Ashton's account of the birth of

the great novels - Adam Bede, Middlemarch, Daniel Deronda - is wonderfully rooted in the particularitles of this marriage of spirits and

her criticism of the fiction is some what superficial, and a little too indulgent. A shrewder critic might question the inconsistency of Eliot's anti-religious religion.

Still, Ashton's great service is connect the early journalistic days of Eliot with the later, more stable world of her fiction. In the process, Ashton irradiates the fiction with a new luminosity of context. And she freshly human is her narrative that



GUARDIAN WEEKL December 22 1996



been very good to thriller **Ent** writers. Even people who are cerebral readers when on terra firma prefer, while in the air, a fastnaced narrative. They want something which will easily distract them from the tedium or fear of their elevated incarceration. So airport bookstores have become a lucrative market for the yarn-spinners and one of the main heroes of the pressurised readers has been Michael Crichton.

They're thrilling and topical — Michael Crichton's books have a knack of being touched by real events, writes Mark Lawson Popular fiction's man of the moment including film rights of around \$3 million for each of his recent titles,

The American writer's bestselling novels of the nineties — Jurassic ready tales told in short, tense

ONG-HAUL air travel has well-researched information - on the worst of all texts with which to tions were self-conscious puns law respectively --- to reassure snootier readers that their brains when they ran out of pages, they were likely to find that one of the movies rapidly produced from the books - Spielberg's Jurassic Park became the most successful film all time - playing on the cabin entertainment system.

month will have been thrilled to find | elist, might have earned him many a new hardcover Crichton title on Park (1991), Rising Sun (1992), Dis- display at Heathrow, Kennedy and closure (1993) - have been the all other English language destinaperfect flyer's diversion: movie- tions. They will soon discover, though, that the former traveller's scenes interspersed with enough friend has, with this book, produced



Michael Crichton . . . up there with the boxers and the corporate raiders in the American income lists

movie is, inevitably, already in proare not entirely treading air. And, | duction but, however successful, seems destined to become the first an in-flight movie.

Crichton has come to be regarded as popular fiction's Mystic ing the saleable which, had it not So passengers in transit this made him impossibly rich as a novmillions as a stockbroker.

> list succeeds in replicating dinosaurs from DNA - was published just weeks before the first scientific articles claiming that cloning had become a genuine sciperfectly positioned to be an accessible focus for media debute on genetic engineering.

in a Tokyo corporation is the peg for American biochemists to resist a an examination of the Japanese fi- lethal virus from space which has tion year in which insurgent candi- the 29-year-old Crichton to pare dates Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot | down character description and inhad raised for the first time the terior psychology and frame the question of the economic threat book in the style of popular scienfrom the basi.

on a sexual harassment suit in a 1 and diagrams, and a list of sources Seattle computer corporation — had 1 at the end. the luck or judgment to be published on the eve of the declaration of gender war in America, with the engineered the techno-thriller, a sexual harassment accusations interger between the novel and nonbrought by Anita Hill against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas and the emasculation of If you ever hear of a John Wayne Bobbitt by his wife.

well-established genre and the melancholy history of passenger flight is such that any novel about an air disaster is nearly guaranteed a topical peg. Yet, even so, it is another tribute to Crichton's fictional premonition that Airframe, a project he started two years ago, should come to be published in what has the writer's skill at fictionalising preplane. It reaches the bookstores Comoros. Once notoriously labelled caught the wave perfectly again.

Yet Crichton's position in the for the rights to the 1971 film. nineties as one of only two American novelists to have become a superpower in both publishing and (1972), in which medical electrodes movie-making - the other is the legal thriller writer John Grisham birthday five years ago, his artistic career would have been written off as an interesting failure.

ject before enrolling at Harvard omits from his bibliographies. Medical School.

genetic engineering, economic im- settle down on a 747. For Airframe about his build, the former being a perialism and sexual harassment is a thriller about a mid-air disaster famous American dwarf and the latwhich strikes a commercial jet. The ter a variation on Long John. The fact that he hid behind them suggests he assumed he would one day produce something better, although Crichton spin-off to be rejected as there was an early indication of zeitgeist-surfing in A Case Of Need, a Jeffrey Hudson thriller set in an abortion clinic, and published in Mike, He has a knack for anticipat- | 1968, just before the debate over the ethics of legalised terminations erupted

Qualifying as a doctor the following year, Crichton took a fellowship Jurassic Park - in which a scien- with Jonas Salk, creator of the polio vaccine, In 1969, Crichton published The Andromeda Strain, the first work with which he had been happy to see his own name on the cover.

The young editor assigned to the entific possibility, and was therefore | book, Robert Gottlieb, made an intervention which would be crucial to the creation of the Crichton literary franchise. The Andromeda Rising Sun — in which a murder | Strain told of an attempt by five tific journalism, with staccato fac-And Disclosure — which centres | tual prose, photocopied documents

 Goulieb, the scholarly editor, and Crichton, the spoiled doctor, had fiction. The book also demonstrated

The aviation thriller is already an Crichton novel called Armageddon, gather your loved ones and head for the hills

aster; the world's worst mid-air colli- | also be read today as impressively sion, over Delhi, and within weeks | pre-Aids and pre-Ebola in its depicof the hijacked plane disaster in the | tion of viral mayhem. It signalled an early indication of Crichton's attrachim a life-changing fee of \$250,000

Two more scientific nightmare novels followed: The Terminal Man turn a patient into a psychopath, and Westworld (1973), a futuristic is all the more surprising for the fact | thriller about a theme park in which that, as he approached his 50th | tourists enact rather than observe their fantasies.

first-class degree in anthropology, no-no books, including a novelisa- time for his book. he spent a year lecturing in that sub- tion of Beowulf which Crichton now

by his family through one degree, | loomed, Crichton sat down in his | ones and head for the hills. he paid his way through medicine | Santa Monica office apartment to by writing hack thrillers, at a rate of write a techno-thriller about reborn several thousand words each day, dinosaurs. In five years since the £16.99. To order a copy at the under the pseudonyms Jeffrey Hud- publication of Jurassic Park, he has special discount price of £12.99

BOOKS 21



have put him up there with the boxers and the cornorate raiders in the American income lists.

How did this turnaround happen? With Jurassic Park, Rising Sun and Disclosure. Crichton had anticipated, or chanced upon, two key elements in nineties culture. The first was that — in a world increasingly saturated with fact in the form of visual and printed news - the task of popular fiction would be not escapist but explanatory.

The second was that - as a neryous Hollywood became ever less keen on original scripts and concepts, preferring stories which had been shown to work in another form — the gap between povel and film treatment should be closed as tightly as possible. The Crichton formula depended on three elements: prescience, technology, and camera-readiness.

Timely, informative and filmable Airframe is a classic Crichton product, a return to form after the sloppy and opportunistic The Lost World, his sequel to Jurassic Park.

Set over the space of a single week - Crichton's preferred timenancial domination of America - 1 infected earth after the crash of a 1 scale, from The Andromeda Strain perfectly coincided with a US elec- scientific probe. Gottlieb advised | through to Rising Sun and Disclosure --- the book begins with a catastrophic episode of turbulence aboard TransPacific Flight 545, an N22 twin-engined airliner flying from Hong Kong to Denver, Three passengers are dead and nearly 100 injured when the jet makes an emergency landing at Los Angeles airbort. The narrative then switches to Norton Aircraft, manufacturer of the plane. A huge order for N22s is under negotiation with the Chinese and will be wrecked if the new-generation plane is shown to have malfunctioned. Casey Singleton, who works in the Incident Review team at Norton, must find the explanation for the accident in an atmosphere of corporate secrecy and paranoia.

Intriguingly, given that Crichton is a multi-millionaire whose previous books have been somewhat rightwing in their assumptions, Airframe is an open attack on the freemarket deregulation of the airlines by President Reagan and the resulbeen the year of the scary aero- vailing anxieties, drawing on post- tant reduction in maintenance and Apollo II fears about the risks of passenger safety. A sub-plot featurwithin months of the TWA 800 dis- penetrating space, although it can ing journalistic vultures from an American television current affairs show covering the the accident also blames what Crichton sees as media irresponsibility on the removal of a "zeitgeist-surfer", the author has | tiveness to film-makers, earning | the fair reporting restrictions on television journalists, another initiative of the Reagan administration.

This is by far the author's most necessary book.

But commercial airliners do mal function, on a roughly monthly basis, and so Crichton's latest thriller deals with urgent rather than merely diverting material. A lesser writer would have made their The film was enough of a success | fictionally stricken plane the target to put Crichton in demand behind of terrorism, but Crichton realises Born in Chicago in 1942, Crich- the camera, but the next decade and that the majority of air accidents reton seemed by adolescence some a half looked like a classic California | sult from mechanical mishandling one designed if not for distinction | story of multiple marriages, psycho- | or malfunction. The increasing sugthen distinctiveness, standing 6ft analysis and squandered talent. gestion that the TWA 800 disaster 9in and displaying a genius-level IQ. | There were so-so films --- The First | was caused by technical failure has. Graduating from Harvard with a Great Train Robbery (1978) — and typically, come at exactly the right

If you ever find in a publisher's catalogue the announcement of an Himself looking like an artistic impending Crichton novel called Having already been supported dinosaur as his sixth decade Armageddon, gather your loved

· - !/ ;

Airframe is published by Century at PHOTOGRAPH: JONATHUN ECLEY | son and John Lange. These designa- | sold around 30 million books, which, | contact Books@TheGuardianWeekly

Standing the test of time

Paul Evans

22 LEISURE

HE RUGGED, dark brown and russet walls wrap round with the smell of damp wood and rich mould. Chinks let in pale winter sunlight and the slow Sunday afternoon sounds of the village. Outside, low branches sway and their green-black needles whisper in the cold wind through the grave-stones. On these boughs are plump scarlet berries which conceal a poisoned seed. Inside this huge, hollow trunk, a strangely peaceful darkness issues from the earth and it seems that the world grinds softly round this fixed dark point, this gateway to the underworld. Perhaps this is a forbidden place. This is the heart of a yew tree in Claverley churchyard in Shropshire.

The tree, whose fruits show that it is female, is over 2,500 years old Long before the church was built, in fact long before Christianity, she grew as the spiritual focus on a burial mound atop a red sandstone hill, as she does now. Because of the yew's incredible age, to the Celts it was the tree of life. Indeed, there ous old trees have a power which draws us to them, a power which bears witness to the death and rebirth of countless years.

The yew tree, Taxus baccata, is distributed throughout Europe, across North Africa, thorough what used to be called Asia Minor and along the Himalayas. The mysteries of many religions and cults surround these trees. In Northern Eu- trees, age is notoriously difficult to are attached to the tree or its place. rope, at the midwinter festivals, a | calculate because they are hollow. log of yew wood, the Yule log, was | Research on the age of yew trees | Bellamy launched the "Yews for the | dollars, with \$12,000 for the burned on ceremonial fires cele- has changed radically thanks to the Millennium" campaign which aims winner plus a car, which Alex brating the death and rebirth of the | work of Alan Meredith who esti- | to take cuttings from 2,000-year-old | Khalifman drove back to St year. From the burning Yule log mates that yews with a girth of 30ft trees and plant one in every parish Petersburg. came Yuletide, the winter solstice | are 2,400 years old. Those with a festival that became absorbed into 33ft girth are 3,000 years old. By Christmas.

England and Wales have yew trees | years old. These trees provide an ar- | 2AR (telephone +44-171 823 8791)

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24-



mated to be over 5,000 years old: much older than the church itself. tual link with prehistory, and pagan campaign from no less than Whether in woods, churchyards, The distribution of these yews is and Christian traditions. parks or gardens, the dark, mysteri- | concentrated in southeast and cen-District.

chalk at Kingley Vales in Sussex.

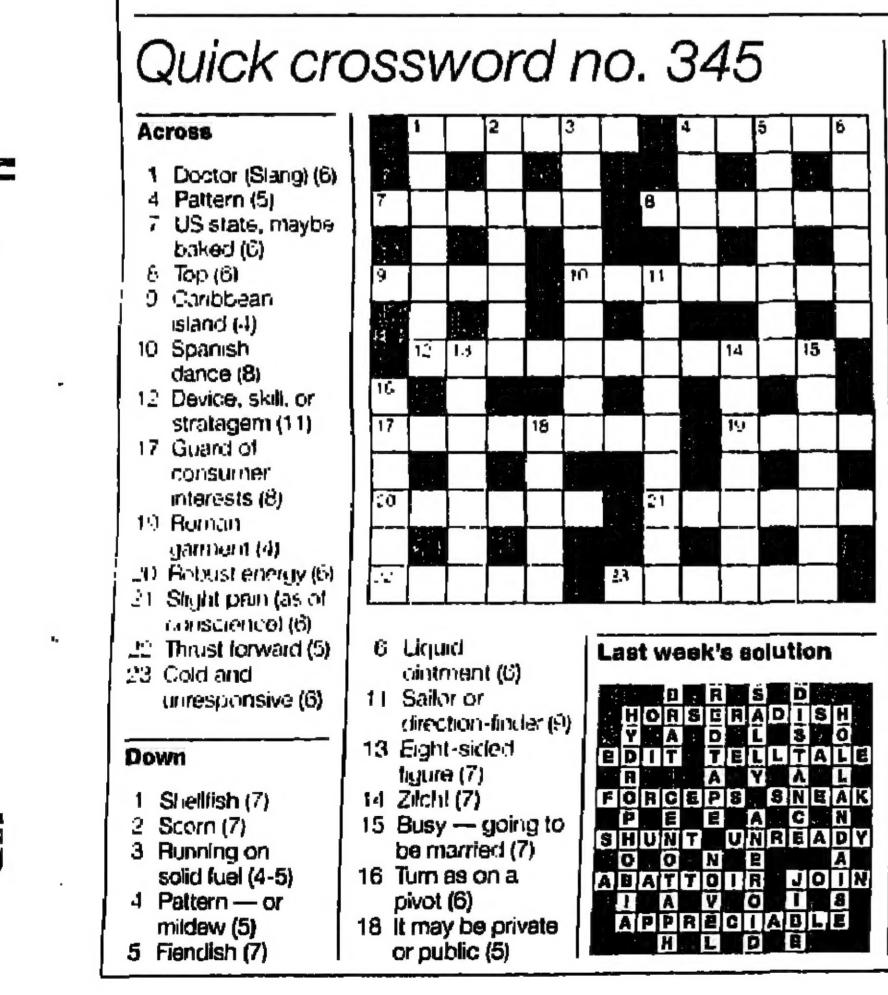
this measure, the 35ft trees at For further information contact According to a survey carried out Defynog, Discoed and Llanfaredd Ihe Conservation Foundation, in 1988, at least 500 churchyards in churchyards in Powys are 4,500 1 Kensington Gore, London SW7

are yew trees in Britain that are esti- which are as old, and in some cases chaeological, ecological and spiri- sonal endorsement of his

If you can find an old yew tree and wavering delegates that tral England, Wales and the Lake | want to record it, measure the girth | Ilyumzhinov was "a man of his of the tree about 4ft above ground | word". Now safe for another The favoured habitats of yew | level by wrapping a piece of string | term, Ilyumzhinov remains a trees is on chalk or limestone soils, around it and measuring the length like the 500 year old grove on the of the string. Note the location with the grid reference if possible, nam-Trees where growth rings can be | ing the churchyard or place name counted are easy to age, and a yew | and give any details of nearby ar- | the fiasco of the 1994 tournatree of 12ft in girth is reckoned to chaeological sites like burial mounds be 300 years old. But in ancient | etc, or any legends and stories that

In September last year. David in Britain.

top of next column). Two diamonds above right. was fourth suit forcing, four no trumps was simple Blackwood. diamonds, which is consistent with



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Bridge Zia Mahmood

EATHER DHONDY and Liz McGowan of the British ladies' team formed an alliance with the Icelandic Open team to enter the World Mixed Teams championship, and stormed through to the final. where they came up against an allprofessional US team that contained two world champions.

Take the East cards on the deal below, and see if you can defeat South's grand slam:

Chess Leonard Barden

/ / HEN Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, V V the controversial president of the world chess body, Fide, made the huge gaffe of announc-ing that the Karpov-Kamsky title match would be played in Baghdad, with Saddam Hussein making the first move, few observers gave the 35-year-old Russian any chance of keeping his job at this autumn's election. Yet, in the event, he defeated his Brazilian challenger by a near 2-1 margin.

Ilyumzhinov really made a brilliant recovery. First, he hosted the Karpov v Kamsky series in his home town of Elista, where the organisation went well and the games were hard fought. Then he gave the veteran ex-champion Smyslov a pension, promised t stage the 1998 Olympiad in Kalmykia, and put his unpopular idea for an annual world championship with knock-out mini-matches on the back burner

Just before the presidential vote, he produced two master strokes: a Karpov versus Kasparov world title reunification match for 1997 and a per-Bobby Flacher, who wrote to hands-on Fide president and is learning from his mistakes. Last month. Elista again hosted the Russian championship, despite ment when the prize fund dropped by 12 per cent during play due to the collapse of the rouble. This time, prizes were in

Khalifman's best game was a sophisticated version of a novice theme. Beginners like to accept the Queen's Gambit pawn 1 d4 d5 2 c4 dxc4 and try to hold it by b5, a plan which fails, as

South 1¢ 2• 4NT	West	North	East No
	No No No	2 ♣ 3 ♣ 5♦	No
			No
			No
7NT	No	No	No
with A	KOJ32 iu	the suit.	West fol

lows to three rounds, then discards the queen, two and four of diamonds. Declarer throws four clubs and a heart from dummy. You can spare a heart and a club on the fourth and fifth spades, but what will you discard on the sixth?

It appears that West began with Q109842 in diamonds, and South discard. South had jumped to 7NI with A765. If South has the queen of on learning only that her partner hearts, you need to keep that suit t guarded and trust your partner for the king of clubs. But if South began AKQ132 VQ A765 A8 with a void in hearts and AKx of clubs, you must throw a heart on the sixth spade in order to protect This has been the bidding (see | the club suit. The full deal is shown,

threw a second club on the last West, your partner, leads the ten of | spade. Liz McGowan's AK8 of clubs | were now good, and she made her 109 and others or Q109 and others contract with six spade tricks, two the other table, East's error cost here on your methods. South wins in hearts, two diamonds and three side 30 IMPs - and the Britainhand with the ace and cashes six clubs. There were two clues which Iceland combination won the World rounds of spades, having begun | might have guided East to the right | Championship by just 11.

Black's does here, because White's fast piece development can exploit weaknesses on the Q-side and around the BK.

Khalifman v Sveshnikov

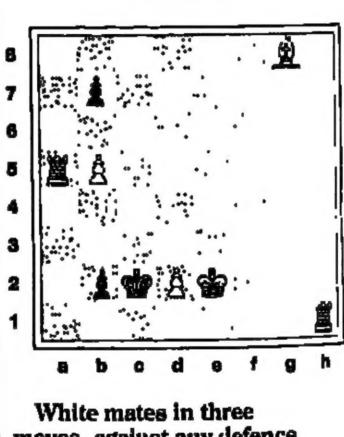
1 d4 d5 2 c4 e6 3 Nf3 c6?i Move order tricks are part of every master's armoury nowadays. Black ls angling for the known system Nc3 Nf6 5 e3 Nbd7, but playing c6 before Nf6 is too inflexible.

4 g3!? White switches to a promising form of the Catalan. Nf6 5 Bg2 dxc4?! Be7, 0-0 and Nbd7 is solid if passive. Instead Black launches an ego-trip to justify 3...cf.

6 0-0 b5 7 a4 Bb7 8 Ne5 Qb6?! Qc8 is normal. 9 b3! cxb3 10 Qxb3 Nbd7 11 Be3 The threat d4-d5 opens up the centre and BK. c5 12 Nxd7 Nxd7 13 d5! bxa4 14 Qxa4 exd5 15 Nc3 d4 16 Nd5 Bxd5 17 Bxd5 Rd8 18 Bf4 Qf6 Black can no longer resist. If Be7 19 Rfb1 Qf6 20 Bc6 stops castling, while Bd6 19 Rfb1 Qc7 20 Rb7 wins material.

19 Qb5 Bd6 20 Ra6 Rb8 21 Bb7 Bxf4 22 Rxf6 gxf6 23 gd4 f5 24 Qc6 Kd8 25 Qd5 Kc7 26 Bc6 Resigns

No 2452



moves, against any defence (by H Jansen).

No 2451: 1 Bd1 Kf5 2 Be2 Kf6 3 Ba6 Kf5 4 Bc8+ Kf6 5 Kd7 Kf5 6 Ke7 mate.

North

• 4 VAK652 • K 3 497643 West East 1085 ♦976 **v** J 10843 ¥Q97 ♦ Q 10 9 8 4 2 ♦ Q 10 5 2 . South ♠ AKQJ32 ♥ None ♦ A765 AK8

had one ace; with a hand such as:

she would hardly have been m position to bid the grand slam with out checking for kings in the North hand. And if West did not have a In practice, the US East player guard in hearts, he should have let you know the position by discarding hearts on the run of the spades Since the contract was six spades at



. 1

- babwe in four one-day interna-_____ tionals and have lost three. Sunday's two-wicket defeat here coming courtesy of about as vacillating a batting display as one could wish to witness — 152 all out on a pitch that might have inhibited strokeplay but which was reliable enough to have provided at least 200. Zimbabwe can be quite a handy one-day side as England's captain Michael Atherton was careful to point out afterwards. So handy, in fact, that they had lost their last 10 unc-day internationals, and had never beaten a Test nation when hatting second in a limited-overs

England may have made a habit of losing in some strange places but they have rarely succumbed in such an easy-going atmosphere, where they had vocal support, where all the Zimbabweans in a crowd of 5,000 seemed to know each other. England did bowl with persistence and when Zimbabwe faltered at 107 for seven, off for six. That as good as settled it. Atherton embarked upon prolonged less pairs, was second, while jockey they might have won.

of a rather greater order. Alistair Campbell had demoted himself to mate Guy Whittall during fielding by Whittall's studs. But he batted ju- catch at cover. diciously and his unbeaten 32 enwin as Zimbabwe's captain.

writher than Eddo Brandes, the brought two wickets in two balls. But happy as, in the final throes, he ran rasses England as easily as cracking tions. Croft's off-spin was withdrawn, strike and the last man Silver wood Streak into driving a return catch. Irani again looked vulnerable. Zimbabwe were 16 runs short with England's batting had looked des whacked his first ball over long | Knight and Stewart, at which point | wickets

Fowler to the four

Jeremy Alexander

OBBIE FOWLER, like a batsman on song, went past his century with a four. His second goal took him to the landmark in his 165th game for Liverpool, one fewer than Ian Rush. It is a momentous feat, completed within a performance of irresistible team momentum.

Towards the end at Anfield Mc-Ateer shot with orgiastic ambition and the ball skewed to the far touch- Beating the Rush . . . 102 goals games without victory. It put the line. The crowd laughed - and laughed again when it became a perfect pass for Bjornebye. Liver- poacher par excellence. When it wol, three up, were on a spree mattered, his eye was keen, his against a defence that had been dis- balance superb, his execution persed like motor way cones, leav- infallible. ing Walsh a helpless hero behind. Fowler played the flat-track bully.

achievement on the day should be edge; two points from three home judged. It was too easy, so that a games had left the crowd restless to dogen chances escaped as well, the point of hostility. His second pool: Now, without a goal in four fanging from the simple to the spec- was sharply reactive to a rebound, games, he is burying his silver head Acularly optimistic. Even Fowler his third (straight after Boro's in- in shrugging shoulders, sulking for t Woon 1 Constant: Dataaton 1 Follow 1 missed two of them, carried along off) clinical, his fourth magical with £7 million. Fowler scored four for by the tide of glee. But he is the twist and sleight of foot turning nothing.

Cricket One-day International: Zimbabwe v England

England dither to a new low

David Hopps in Bulawayo



Darren Gough is run Down and out out by Zimbabwe's wicket keeper, Andy Flower PHOTOGRAPH: HOWARD BURDITT

But that was the cue for fortitude | held together by Waller, who made | labouring 77 balls over 23. Then he | races in one day, finished third. 48 until he was run out. Silverwood had a leg-side mow at Grant made a sound impression on his Flower's slow left-arm and was mund's Matthias Sammer is on No 7 after colliding with his team- | England debut, taking a wicket with | caught at mid-on. his sixth ball when Grant Flower bruised and his check was scarred elder Flower, Andy, to Knight's low better form, had his off-bail flicked of the votes in the annual poll run by

sured the match was won with more out his three quicker bowlers. to Rennie and drove a catch into the in second position while Britain's than six overs to spare — his first | Gough's two wickets included the | off-side. Only Hussain prospered, | Alan Shearer was third. prize one of Houghton, who drove to | finishing unbeaten on 49, and even For the shot of the match, look no | extra cover, and Mullally's final spell | he could not have been entirely hefty chicken farmer who embar- Atherton eventually ran out of op- out Gough and then lost both the ergs. When Croft's off-spin lured after his first two overs cost 16, and more easily than he might have

two wickets remaining and the ten- comfortable enough to begin with Scores: England 152 Zimbabwe you had reached its height. Bran- but Streak's swing accounted for 153 for 8. Zimbabwe won by two

aside by Brandes. Crawley briefly the magazine, France Football. Atherton rationally opted to bowl looked in trim before he advanced Barcelona's Brazilian, Ronaldo, was wished.

Football Premiership: Liverpool 5 Middlesbrough 1



in 165 games for Fowler

His first, after 29 seconds, was straightforward and set Liverpool at this is the context in which his ease when they might have been on

Whyte into a corkscrew. He has an ers, especially McManaman, have a hang-up. Bjornebye scored the other and Collymore had a part in four. He, above all, revelled in the space that Boro could not get to.

Boro's defenders were in the wrong place all afternoon. The previous week Atherton had marked McManaman into anonymity and Sheffield Wednesday won 1-0, but Bryan Robson paid no heed. Denied the defensive experience of Pearson, Fleming, Vickers and Morris, as well as Juninho in attack, the Boro manager plumped for a freewheeling approach when discipline was his only hope after 11 league ball into Liverpool's court and they Charlton 1, Pon Vale 3; Norwich 1, Crystal returned it, as often as they cared, into Boro's net.

Robson could do with a fortnight's break instead of the festive glut of fixtures. He needs to restore Ravanelli's interest as much as to integrate Emerson, to bash heads and Brentford 2; Gillogham 2, Bury 2; Lutan 6, reinforce the club's ambition. On the opening day the Italian scored a Walshill, Wathord 1; Wycomber 1, Chostotte'd hat-trick in the 3-3 draw with Liver-

Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

the death of Brazilian driver, Ayrton

A lawyer for Mr Williams said a trial had been set for Feburary 20 in Italy and added that the first hearing would be before a judge at Imola, where Senna was killed in a crash during the San Marino Grand Prix on May 1, 1994.

D AMON HILL, winner of the Formula One world title in October, was named the BBC's Sports Personality of the Year on Sunday - the second time he has you the award. Hill collected it in 1994 when he missed the workl title by one point. He said he was "enormously proud" to have been honoured in this way. "This really makes my year for me." Hill added.

Rower Steve Redgrave, who won Britain's only medal in the Atlanta Olympics and his fourth in the cox-

course to win the 1996 European Thorpe, coming in at No 4 even | Footballer of the Year award. He

> AIN DOWIE, who has not scored for West Ham in the Premiership since March 23, struck twice within 10 minutes in the first half for Northern Ireland in their World Cup qualifier against Albania in Belfast. It was their first victory in for the finals in France.

White took a career best 6-66 as England A wrapped up a successful Australian tour with a draw against

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Leeds C Fottenham 0; Liverpool 5, Middlesbrough 1 Sunderland 3, Chelses 0; Wimbledon 1, Bieckburn 0; Derby 0, Eventon 1. Leading positions: 1, Arsensi (played 17, points 35) 2, Liverpool (17-34); 3, Wimbledon (17-34).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division Bamsley 3, Tranmere 0; Bimwoghm P, W.B A. P; Bolton 1, Ipswich 2; Bradford P, Reading P; Palace 1: Oxford 4, Shefileid Litcl 1: Partsmouth 3. Hudderefield 1; OPR. 4. Southend 0; Stole 2, Swindon 0, Wolvos 0, Oldham 1, Leading positions: 1, Bolton (23-42), 2, Banisley (22-41); 3, Shefiled Utd (22-39).

Second Division Bournemouth 1, Milwall 1 Bristol City 1, Bristol Rovers 1: Burnley 1, Crewa 0; Notis Co 0, Rotherham 0; Plymouth 2. Shrowshury 2: Stockport 0, Poterborough 0, 9; York 1, Wrosham 0. Leading positions: Brontford (23-43), 2. Millwoll (23-44); 3, Litton (22-40)

1, Wigen 1, Chester 2, Darlington 1, Fulham 1, Leyton 1, Hereford 2, Carksle 3, Lincoln 1, Northampion 1; Mansfeld 1, Colchester, 1;

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1.00